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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CONVENTION

OF THE

Manufacturers, Dealers and Operatives

IN THE

7643.92 a

SHOE AND LEATHER TRADE,

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

IN THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS,

HOLDEN AT BOSTON, MARCH 2, 1842.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY SAXTON & PEIRCE,
133 Washington Street.

1842.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

In presenting the following pages to the public, we are guided in a great measure by the fact that this Convention is the first that has been held in the State of Massachusetts, by the Manufacturers, Dealers and Operatives, in the Shoe and Leather Trade.

And now, when injurious changes are about to take place in the rates of duties on the articles of our manufacture, and considering the immense value to the country of this trade — the great number of persons employed, both male and female, in this single branch of industry, who are dependent upon their labor for support for themselves and families, shall we not speak — ay, demand of our representatives in Congress — that consideration which is our just due?

We have met together and told what we wished to tell; and the results, time only can reveal.

We ask only from the citizens of our country, a candid examination of the facts.

PROCEEDINGS.

MARLBORO' CHAPEL: BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

WEDNESDAY, March 2, 1842.

AT a meeting of the Delegates, chosen by the several towns in the State of Massachusetts, interested in the Shoe and Leather Business, assembled in Convention, agreeably to the following notice:

TO THE DEALERS, MANUFACTURERS AND OPERATIVES ENGAGED IN THE BOOT, SHOE AND LEATHER BUSINESS, IN MASSACHUSETTS:

In consideration of the changes which are about to be made in the duties on foreign goods—and of their bearing upon our manufactures—of the immense importance of this manufacture—and the great number of persons engaged therein—we deem it important to have a *State Convention* composed of all classes—to take into consideration the probable influence which such changes in the duties will have upon our fabrics—and to consider what action is necessary in relation thereto:

We therefore invite all our fellow citizens engaged in the same business with ourselves, to assemble at *MARLBORO' CHAPEL, in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, the 2d March, at 10 o'clock A. M.*, to take this subject into consideration—and in order to insure a full representation of these interests from all parts of the State—

we respectfully request that individuals in each town interested in this matter, will hold meetings and appoint a large number of delegates to the said Convention.

Boston, February 10, 1842.

Amasa Walker
Joseph Southwick
Drury Fairbanks
Samuel F. Train
Thomas Raddin, Jr.
Caleb Stetson
John Cummings & Son
Of Boston.

Isaiah Breed
Nathan D. Chase
Ebenezer Hussey
John B. Chase
Samuel J. Ireson
Francis S. Newhall
Gustavus Atwell
James Phillips
Edward S. Davis
Nathan Kimball
John B. Alley
Joseph M. Fuller
Daniel Farrington
Of Lynn.

Samuel Wood
John W. Slocumb
Of Grafton.

John Woodman
Samuel Chase
Harmon & Kimball
Edmund Kimball
M. D. George
R. Whittier
Leonard Whittier
I. P. Montgomery
G. R. Montgomery
Of Haverhill.

Benjamin Goodridge
Henry Poor
Ebenezer Putnam
Elias Putnam
Moses Putnam
P. R. Southwick
Samuel Preston
Nathaniel Sylvester
Of Danvers.

J. Whitmarsh & Co.
Joseph Hunt
Brown & Cushing
Of Abington.

Abner Curtis
Of East Abington.

C. S. Holbrook
E. N. Holbrook
Lewis Whitcomb
Ephraim Lincoln
Of East Randolph.

Burril & Maguire
E. & J. Belcher
Of West Randolph.

Swan & Drake
Of Stoughton.

Hunt & Cutter
Amos Smith
Of Charlestown.

George J. Tenney
John B. Savery
Of Georgetown.

William Larrabee
Nathaniel Roundy
Of Beverly.

Nathaniel Tuttle
Stephen Driver
Joseph Winn
John C. Stimpson
Of Salem.

Richard Phillips
Charles Herrick
Of Topsfield.

Leonard Johnson
Of West Bradford.

Allen Rowe
Of Stoneham.
H. Wilson
Of Natick.
Thomas Emerson
Adam Hawkes
Of South Reading.
Stephen Foster
Perkins & Richardson
Warren Perkins
Of Reading.
Nicholas Winn & Co.
William T. Choate
Charles Choate
Of Woburn.

T. & E. Bachelder
Of North Brookfield.
Adam Curtis
Of Quincy.
Whiton & Nash
Of Hingham.
P. & N. Copeland
Of West Bridgewater.
John Stevenson
Of Braintree.
Sewell Raddin
Of Saugus.
P. Warren & Sons
Of Brimfield.
N. Pratt
Of Shrewsbury.

Hon. Isaiah Breed of Lynn, called the meeting to order:

When Joseph Southwick, Esq. of Boston, was chosen Chairman—*Pro tem.*

And Ebenezer Hussey of Lynn, Secretary—*Pro tem.*

On motion of Mr. F. S. Newhall, of Lynn, it was voted, that a Committee of nine be nominated by the Chair, to select a list of officers for the Convention; the following nomination was then made, and accepted by the Convention.

F. S. Newhall, Esq., of Lynn,
Caleb Stetson, Esq., of Boston,
Benjamin Goodridge, Esq., of Danvers,
Bingley Alden, Esq., of Randolph,
Charles Alden, Esq., of West Brookfield,
J. M. Warren, Esq., of Brimfield,
Joseph W. Stevens, Esq., of Grafton,
Colonel Robinson, of Newburyport,
L. Whittier, Esq., of Haverhill.

On motion it was voted, that a Committe of five be nominated by the Chair, to enroll the names of the delegates in attendance at this Convention. When the following names were reported for this Committee, and accepted by the Convention.

John B. Chase, of Lynn,
E. S. Davis, "
Lewis Allen, of Danvers,
Thomas Raddin, Jr., of Boston,
Samuel Haskell, of North Brookfield,

[For the Roll of the Convention, see Appendix.]

The Committee appointed to report officers for the Convention, made the following report:

For President, Amasa Walker, Boston.

Vice Presidents,
Samuel Wood, Grafton.
Tyler Batcheller, N. Brookfield.
H. B. Alden, Randolph.
Isaiah Breed, Lynn.
Samuel P. Fowler, Danvers.
G. K. Montgomery, Haverhill.
N. Pratt, Shrewsbury.

Secretaries.
James Maguire, Randolph.
B. P. Woodman, Haverhill.
George W. Keene, Lynn.

Which report was accepted, and adopted by the Convention, without discussion.

The President, on taking the Chair, addressed the meeting; setting forth the objects of the Convention.

[For his Remarks, see Appendix.]

On motion of Mr. Hussey of Lynn, that a Committee of eleven be nominated by the Chair, to report business for the action of the Convention: whereupon the following gentlemen were nominated by the Chair, and adopted by the Convention without discussion.

E. Hussey, of Lynn, Seth Bryant, of Boston,
Lewis Allen, of Danvers, L. Whittier, of Haverhill,
Ja's Tirrel, of Weymouth, Jona. White, E. Randolph,
S. A. Bales, of Braintree, James Swan, of Stoughton.
E. S. Holbrook, E. Randolph. Caleb Stetson, of Boston,
Jonathan Warren, of Grafton.

On motion of Mr. Maguire of Randolph, all persons present interested in the Shoe and Leather trade, were invited to take seats in the Convention.

On motion of Mr T. C. Wales, of Boston, the following gentlemen were chosen a Committee on Finance.

T. C. Wales, of Boston, A. Thompson, of Woburn,
W. R. Perkins, Danvers, Henry Cushing, Hingham,
Abel Newhall, of Saugus, H. Edson, N. Brookfield.

On motion of Mr. Newhall, of Lynn, that a committee of three be nominated by the Chair on Rules and Orders:— the following gentlemen were chosen:

J. W. Carlton, Methuen,
Leonard Johnson, Bradford,
E. C. Emerson, Boston.

The Committee reported the following as the Rules and Orders for the government of this Convention, which was adopted.

We the undersigned, having been appointed a Committee to report rules and orders for the regulation of he Convention now assembled in the Marlboro' Chapel, beg leave to submit the following report:

1st. The President shall preserve order and decorum, and shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the Convention, and shall appoint all Committees not otherwise ordered by the Convention.

2nd. All motions and addresses shall be made to the President.

3d. No motion shall be debated or put, unless the same shall be seconded; it shall then be stated by the President, and every motion shall be reduced to writing on the request of the President or any member.

4th. If two or more members rise at once, the President shall decide which shall have the floor.

5th. No member shall be referred to by name in debate.

6th. No member shall be interrupted while speaking, except by a call to order by the President, or some member through the President, when the member called to order shall resume his seat until permitted by the President to proceed.

7th. Any person making a motion, may withdraw the same before the question is taken or an amendment made.

8th. All questions shall be put in the order in which they are moved, except in cases of amendment and filling up blanks, when the amendment last proposed, the highest number and the longest time, shall be put first.

9th. The previous question shall always be in order, and until decided, shall preclude all amendment and debate on the main question, and shall be in this form—"Shall the main question now be put?"

10th. A motion to adjourn shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

11th. No member shall speak more than twice on the same question without leave.

12th. No motion for reconsideration shall be in order, unless moved by a member, who voted in the majority. All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. W. CARLETON,
ELIJAH C. EMERSON,
LEONARD JOHNSON.

On motion of T. H. Bell, of Boston, it was moved that a Committee of three be nominated by the Chair, to invite Hon. Emory Washburn of Worcester; J. H. Ward, Esq. of Salem; and Robert Rantoul Jr. Esq. of Beverly, to take seats in this Convention.

On the adoption of this motion the Chair nominated Messrs. T. H. Bell, of Boston; Isaac H. Kelley, of Haverhill; and Wm. Phillips, of Lynn; a Committee to extend to the gentlemen named the invitation of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Hussey, of Lynn,—Resolved, that any gentlemen having in their possession statistical in-

formation relative to the Shoe and Leather business in the State of Massachusetts, be invited to hand it to the chairman of the Committee on business.

On motion of Mr. Stetson, of Boston,—Resolved, that Hon. Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, be invited to take a seat in this Convention, whereupon Mr. C. Stetson of Boston was appointed a Committee to extend to Mr. Lawrence the invitation of the Convention.

The Committee on business reported the following resolutions through their Chairman, Ebenezer Hussey, of Lynn.

[For his Remarks, see Appendix.]

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That if the nations of the earth had acted in accordance with the true interests of man—had been moved by the impulses of justice and humanity—guided by the same wise policy, and governed by the same laws —the result would have been a system of *Free Trade* throughout the world, as the best means of promoting the happiness of the great family of man.

2. Resolved, That whereas Great Britain, the acknowledged mistress of the commercial world, has, by her selfish restrictive policy, diverted commerce from its natural channel, and attempted to guide the wealth into her own coffers, we are driven, as an act of self-preservation, to protect ourselves against that system of monopoly which aims a deadly blow, alike, at our *industry* and our *independence.*

3. Therefore Resolved, That it is the duty of every nation that would render its existence *permanent*, to

cherish and protect its industry as the only sure source of *wealth*, *happiness* and *independence*.

4. Resolved, That while the productions of American machinery may successfully compete with the productions of any other country, the productions of American *labor* (unless guarded by wholesome legislation) must fall beneath the shock of European competition.

5. Resolved, That as the revenue of the country must be raised by impost duties, *justice demands* that a discrimination be made that shall check the importation of those articles which aim at the overthrow of *industry*, *prosperity*, and *independence*.

6. Resolved, That as the manufacture of Boots, Shoes and Leather is almost exclusively labor, the manufacturers of these articles have a right to claim *(if not demand)* of Congress that protection which shall enable them to perform their relations, both social and political, with comfort to themselves and honor to their country.

7. Resolved, That a *specific* duty is the only guaranty against the many frauds and impositions which are practiced upon the community by varied invoices and false valuations.

8. Resolved, That if Congress adheres to the system of horizontal duties, it is absolutely necessary that a fixed valuation be established upon each pair of Boots and Shoes that may be imported, that shall produce the same results as a specific duty.

9. Resolved, That a duty about equal to that which existed up to 1835, is alike demanded by the interests

of the North, South, and West; that with a sound currency we may check that over-importation which is draining our country of specie, and thus destroying the basis of our business transactions.

10. Resolved, That the interests of the North and the South, the agriculturist and the manufacturer, are nearly blended; that that which promotes the prosperity of the *one*, must advance the interests of the *other*.

11. Therefore Resolved, That the 40,000 shoemakers of the old Bay State are ready to raise their voices to the *last*, and cast in their *all*, against any measure that shall have a tendency to give to the monopolists of Europe the profits of our industry, or drain our country of that specie which is the basis of our commercial prosperity.

12. Furthermore Resolved, That we will join with our brethren of the other States in any honorable measure that shall have a tendency to secure to us, upon Boots, Shoes and Leather, a rate of duties that will enable us to compete with foreign manufacturers, and give to the laborer his just reward.

13. Resolved, That we believe these United States *do possess*, *within themselves*, *all* the essentials of national supply.

14. Resolved, That *we believe* it to be the duty of *every citizen* of these United States, who regards the true interests of his country, to encourage *our own* trade and manufactures *in preference* to foreign products.

15. Resolved, That the *members of this Convention* do practically manifest the sincerity of theirzeal for Ameri-

can manufactures, by *resolving to wear nothing but the products of American industry*, until other nations consent to receive our *own products*, on that reciprocity of trade which *we offer them*.

16. Resolved, That we believe it to be the true interest of *all* the producing classes of these United States *who wish* to possess themselves of the means of comfort without dependence on foreign markets, to *abstain* from using *any article* they can *possibly do without*, especially those which come from *Great Britain* or *any other country* which does *not consent* to receive the products of these United States, in *fair exchange* for articles imported for the necessary consumption of the *American people*.

On motion of Mr. Maguire of Randolph, it was voted that the resolutions be accepted, and taken up separately for adoption. The 1st resolution was then read by the President, and on the question, to adopt—

It was discussed by Messrs. Maguire, of Randolph; Mr. Puttilow, of Braintree; Mr. Lindsey, of Charlestown, and by Mr. Hussey, of Lynn.

[For their remarks, see Appendix.]

On motion of Mr. Wales, of Boston, the question was laid on the table, to give an opportunity for the Committee on Finance to make a report.

The Committee on Finance made the following report, which was accepted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Your Committee have attended to the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report:

That the sum necessary to be raised for defraying the

expenses of this Convention, as near as your Committee can ascertain, is *two hundred and fifty dollars.*

And your Committee would recommend, that that sum be raised by voluntary contributions of the members of the Convention.

T. C. WALES,
HENRY CUSHING, } Committee
HIRAM EDSON,

On motion of Mr. Allen, Resolved, that the Committee on Finance proceed immediately to take up a collection, as proposed in their report.

On motion of Mr. Newhall, of Lynn, Resolved, that when this Convention adjourn, it be to meet again, at half past 2 o'clock p. m., at this place.

On motion of Mr. Newhall, — the Convention adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the President, when the Chairman of the business Committee submitted the following petition, as a form to be adopted by the several towns in the State and circulated for signatures, to be forwarded to Congress — which was adopted, and ordered to be printed.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

We the undersigned, citizens of the Town of , in the State of Massachusetts, respectfully request that you will immediately enact such Laws, as will secure to the Citizens of these United States that Protection, upon the manufacture of Boots, Shoes

and Leather, which will enable them successfully to compete with the manufactures of Foreign Countries, without resorting to that low-wages system, which has crushed the laboring classes of Europe to the dust.

And your Petitioners respectfully show that the manufacture of Shoes and Leather, has become a business of vast importance, being second to no manufacturing interest in the Country.

That in the State of Massachusetts, it employs double the number of Persons employed in the manufacture of any other one article.

That the 50,000 persons employed in the manufacture of these articles in the State of Massachusetts, are connected with no corporations, the business being sustained entirely by individual enterprise.

That a Protective duty less than that which existed up to 1835, will not enable us to sustain our business with profit to ourselves or advantage to the country.

That the manufacture of these articles being almost exclusively labor, we believe they have a stronger claim to Protection, inasmuch as the laborer has a stronger claim than the machine.

Messrs. Mudge of Lynn, Whiting of North Brookfield, and Boynton of Ipswich, were chosen a Committee for printing Petition.

On motion of Mr. Chase of Lynn, Resolved, that when the petitions are signed, they be returned to the Chairman of the Committee on business, to be put in order, and forwarded to Congress.

The Chairman of the business Committee presented the following statistics from the Town of Danvers.

A Statistical Account of the Shoe and Leather Business in the Town of Danvers, annually:

1. Manufacture of Shoes: 924,000 pairs of Shoes and Boots, estimated value, $650,000; 40 per cent of this is labor applied; 1255 males are employed; 946 females.

2. Tanning and Currying: 373,800 sides of Leather, estimated value, $792,900; 328 males employed; Capital invested in Tanneries and Mills, $123,000.

3. Manufacture of Skins: 180,000 Skins manufactured; 20 per cent of this is labor applied; 44 males employed; 6,500 cords of Bark are used in the Tanneries, value $8 per cord, amounting to $52,000; 15 vessels of 80 tons each, and 60 men, are employed in the transportation of this bark from Maine; 5 vessels of 200 tons each, and 50 men, are employed in the importation of the hides for the Tanneries.

Summary view of the business. Estimated gross amount of Sales annually 1,584,900; 924,000 pairs of Shoes and Boots; 373,800 sides of Leather; 180,000 skins manufactured; 1,737 males employed; 846 females.

The foregoing is submitted as the result of the Reports of the Committees in the several branches of business.

LEWIS ALLEN,
FITCH POOLE,
HENRY POOR,
SAMUEL P. FOWLER,
JOSHUA SYLVESTER,
} Committee.

DANVERS, Feb. 28th, 1842.

On motion of L. Whittier of Haverhill, Resolved, That a Committee of one from each town in the State interested in the Shoe and Leather business be appointed to prepare statistics of the business in their respective towns, and forward the same to the Chairmain of business Committee, within ten days.

[For this Committee, see Appendix.]

On motion of Mr. Allen of Danvers, that the President, with the vice-Presidents, be a Committee to prepare an Address to the people,

Pending the adoption of this motion, an amendment was proposed to add nine more to this Committee, which was accepted, and the motion, as amended, adopted.

Whereupon the President nominated Messrs. J. M. Warren, Brimfield, Nath. Shaw, Weymouth, Stephen Driver, Salem, Thomas Puttilow, of Braintree, Elias Putnam, Danvers, Geo. Hood, Lynn, Leonard Whittier, Haverhill, Wm. B. Spooner, of Boston, Abijah Thompson, Woburn, which nomination was accepted.

The President then read the first resolution, and stated that the question on its adoption was now before the convention.

The question was discussed by Messrs. Russell, of Grafton, and Hussey, of Lynn; when Mr. Mann, of Natick, moved the indefinite postponement. This motion was debated by Messrs. Mann, of Natick; Hussey, of Lynn; Russell, of Grafton; Spooner, of Boston; after which it was rejected. The Resolution was then adopted.

[For remarks on the Resolution, &c. see Appendix.]

Question on the adoption of the second resolution was debated by Mr. Puttilow, of Braintree ; Mr. Burton from England. [See Appendix.]

And adopted.

Question on the adoption of the third resolution was debated by

Mr. Hussey, of Lynn ; Mr. Burton ; Hon. E. Washburn.

[For remarks, see Appendix.]

When the Resolution was adopted unanimously.

Hon. Abbott Lawrence was then introduced, who addressed the Convention at some length.

[For Address, see Appendix.]

On motion, of Mr. F. S. Newhall, of Lynn, it was ordered that the business Committee be instructed to prepare a memorial to be submitted to Congress from this Convention.

The fourth Resolution was adopted without debate.

On motion, voted, that this Convention now adjourn to meet again at this place, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Evening, at 7 o'clock, the Convention was called to order by the President,

When Mr. Hussey, chairman of business Committee, submitted the following memorial for the consideration of the Convention.

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

The Dealers, Manufacturers, and Operatives engaged in the Shoe and Leather business in the State of Massachusetts, assembled in Convention at the Marlboro' Chapel, in Boston, on Wednesday, the second day of March, 1842, to take into consideration the changes which are about to take place, in the rates of the duties on foreign goods, and the bearing of such changes upon the articles of their manufacture, beg leave to memorialize your honorable body, and respectfully represent,

That they are engaged in the most extensive branch of manufacturing industry within the State of Massachusetts. That the number of persons employed in this department of labor, amounts, as ascertained by a census taken by order of the State in 1837, to upwards of 40,000, being more than one third of all the manufacturing population within the Commonwealth, and producing annually commodities to the amount of upwards of eighteen millions of dollars.

That this branch of manufacture is carried on exclusively by manual labor, receiving no aid from machinery, or from water or steam-power.

That goods thus manufactured cannot come into the market with foreign fabrics, so successfully as those which are produced by the intervention of machinery

That your memorialists, without the aid of governmental duties, must compete hand to hand with the

low-priced labor of Europe, which, with the value that labor ever must possess in this widely-extended country, they cannot successfully accomplish.

That a considerable part of those now engaged in the manufacture of Boots and Shoes, must therefore necessarily be driven from their present employment, to seek in other occupations that support which they would not be able to obtain in their present business, if thrown entirely open to the competition of foreigners.

That the large number of persons so driven from their accustomed employment would inevitably be pressed into other branches of industry already fully occupied, and thus create a general depression of the price of labor throughout the country.

Your memorialist farther represent that a duty of twenty, or even thirty, per cent. upon foreign valuation will not afford them an adequate protection, since the manufactures of France, from whom the greatest competition must be expected, can, owing to the extremely low price of labor in that country, afford a variety of fine and light work, at lower rates than it can be produced for, in the United States.

Your memorialists, therefore, ask that the following rates of duties may be established, viz.

On Ladies' Silk Shoes, 25 cts. each pair.

Ladies' Prunella, Stuff, Morocco, Kid and Leather, 20 cts. each pair.

On Children's do. do. do. do., 12 cts. each pair.

On Men's Boots and Bootees, $1,25 each pair.

On Women's do. do., 50 cts. each pair.

On Men's Boots and Bootees, partially manufactured, 100 cts. per pair.

On Women's Boots and Bootees, partially manufactured, 40 cts. per pair.

These duties, it will be perceived, are some twenty per cent. lower than those established by the Act of Congress of 1832. And your memorialist have named these rates in the spirit of compromise, and as being the lowest at which they could be able to continue the manufacture of the articles referred to. Those duties too, it may be proper to state, will operate principally as a tax on luxuries, and will fall mostly on the finer description of Boots and Shoes, which are worn by the wealthier classes; while the great mass of common articles will be but partially and indirectly, *if at all, affected by them.* In asking for these duties, your memorialists would explicitly state that they are not the advocates of a high protection tariff. That they do not maintain the doctrine that the whole people should be taxed for the benefit of any particular class. They only ask that those duties which may be necessary for the support of an economical administration of the national Government may be laid with such discrimination, as that while they shall not increase the aggregate of taxation of the whole community, may protect those branches of industry, which have grown up in the United States during the last twenty-five years, under the fostering influence of governmental legislation.

They furthermore ask that a duty of thirty per cent. may be laid upon Leather, and all other articles not otherwise enumerated, manufactured thereof.

Your memorialists are friends of the UNION, and would not ask of Congress anything which might give just occasion for sectional jealousies, or dissatisfation to any portion of their fellow citizens.

They are the friends of *harmony*, and would do nothing which might peril the peace and happiness of the Republic.

They are the friends of *justice*, and do not desire that their interests should be protected at the expense, and to the injury of others.

Your memorialists look forward with pleasure to the time when the great commercial warfare of restrictive systems, which has been waged for centuries, shall cease forever, and when universal freedom of commerce shall bless all mankind.

Towards this happy consummation they believe the legislation of this enlightened nation should ever be directed, and should meet in the spirit of kindness and reciprocity, every advance made by other governments towards this desirable result.

But since most of the nations of Europe, especially Great Britain, the acknowledged mistress of the commercial world, have by their restrictive regulations, thrown all trade and commerce out of their natural and legitimate channels, and rendered the otherwise peaceful pursuits of commerce a scene of unceasing injustice, perplexity, and discord; it has become necessary as a measure of self-defence, that the Government of this country should so far as is consistent with justice of the whole people, protect those branches of trade and manufactures, which would otherwise be utterly des-

troyed by the aggressions of selfish and unjust foreign legislation.

With these views and feelings, your memorialists, relying with entire confidence, present themselves before your honorable body, and ask that this memorial may receive that attention and consideration which it may fairly demand.

By order and in behalf of the Convention.

After reading the memorial, it was moved that it be accepted, subject to revision.

On motion of Mr. Whiting, of North Brookfield, the word "*pauper*," in connection with the labor of Europe, was stricken out, and the word "*low priced*" substituted.

The President here remarked that the labor of England was in fact chiefly pauper labor; and that the expression, although obnoxious, was literally true.

Mr. Walker, of North Brookfield, objected to the conclusion of the memorial which regarded free trade as a desirable object of ultimate attainment; and moved to recommit the memorial with instructions to strike out that part of it —

Which was discussed at some length by Messrs. F. Walker, Hussey, Mudge, Boyd, and by the President. The question to recommit was rejected.

The question on adopting the memorial, subject to revision, was carried.

On motion of Mr. Hussey, of Lynn, it was voted that a committee of twenty be chosen to attend the

national Convention to be held in New York, on the 6th day of April next, when the Chair announced the following gentlemen on the Committee.

Jos. Southwick,	Nathan Breed,
Seth Bryant,	Ebenezer Hussey,
Caleb Stetson,	F. S. Newhall,
Jas. Whitney, *Boston.*	Isaiah Breed, *Lynn.*
Elias Putnam, *Danvers.*	B. T. Woodman, *Haverhill.*
T. Batcheller,	Jno. M. Warren, *Brimfield.*
F. Walker, *North Brookfield.*	Joseph Hunt, *Abington.*
George Bowen, *Worcester.*	H. B. Alden, *Randolph.*
Sam. Wood, *Grafton.*	E. Harrington, *Salem.*
E. N. Holbrook, *East Randolph.*	N. Pratt, *Shrewsbury.*

On motion of Mr. Hussey — that a Committee of three be chosen to wait upon our representatives in Congress, to urge the claims of this branch of industry for protection, and to furnish such information as may be necessary to support it.

Adopted.

And on motion, the following gentlemen were chosen :

Amasa Walker, Esq., of Boston.
Ebenezer Hussey, of Lynn.
Lewis Allen, of Danvers.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth Resolutions were then taken up and adopted, without debate.

The question on adopting the ninth Resolution was debated by Messrs. Hussey, R. Rantoul, jr., and the President. [See Appendix.]

Adopted.

Tenth Resolution, adopted.

Question on adopting the eleventh Resolution,—it was moved to amend, by striking out the words "*last and all.*"

The Resolution as amended, was then adopted.

Twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Resolutions were then adopted.

On the adoption of the fifteenth Resolution, after some remarks by Messrs. Russell, of Grafton, and Hussey, of Lynn, the Resolution was rejected.

The sixteenth Resolution, after some debate, was rejected.

On motion of Mr. Hussey, of Lynn, it was ordered that the Committee on finance be directed to assess the different towns interested in the Shoe and Leather trade, according to the Statistics of 1837, to the amount of $350, to defray the expenses of the Committee to Washington, and for other incidental expenses of the Convention.

On motion, voted that the thanks of this Convention be given to Amasa Walker, Esq., for the able and efficient manner in which he has presided over their deliberations.

Also to the other officers of the Convention.

Voted to adjourn.

AMASA WALKER, *President.*

J. MAGUIRE,
B. P. WOODMAN,
GEO. W. KEENE,
} *Secretaries.*

APPENDIX

On taking the Chair, AMASA WALKER, Esq., President, addressed the convention for a few moments. He said that the convention had assembled in conformity with public notice, to take into consideration the approaching changes in the tariff of the United States, and the bearing of those changes upon the interests of the trade in which the members of the convention were engaged. The delegates present represented the largest manufacturing interest of the largest manufacturing State in the Union. It was a business which had increased with surprising rapidity within the last twenty years.

The state census of 1837 disclosed the astonishing fact that there were 40,000 people engaged in the shoe and leather trade in Massachusetts, producing annually $18,000,000. Thus more than one third of the manufacturing population of the Commonwealth was employed in this branch of manufacture, and the annual profit of their labor to the state was certainly over six, and probably amounted to *eight millions* of dollars. This fact gave a striking, and not more striking than correct, view of the importance of this business to the Commonwealth and the whole country. But it was not important solely on account of the money invested in it, but also because it gave employment to a population as elevated and estimable in point of character and usefulness as any in the state.

A consideration of much interest and importance was that there was a more equal participation in the profits of business in the shoe and leather trade, than in any other branch of manufactures whatever. There was no great or invidious distinction

between the manufacturer and the operative; they both stood on a common level, which God grant may always be the case.

The laborers enjoyed perfect freedom of opinion, perhaps to an unequalled extent — they were no ignorant mass, acting under the direction of a few, but an intelligent body, each entertaining his own ideas, and acting upon his own convictions, in full liberty. It was a fact, that in the shoe trade there were three times as many freeholders among the operatives as in either the cotton, woollen or iron manufacture. There were none among the laboring manufacturers of the Commonwealth, who were more surrounded with the comforts of life than the operatives of the shoe and leather business; there were no villages in the twenty-six States of the Union which stood higher than the shoe villages of New England, in the moral, social and intellectual condition of their inhabitants. The population engaged in this trade was distinguished for general intelligence. The business was a social business; the people were not crowded together in factory buildings; their conversation was not drowned by the noise of machinery; they had many and great opportunities for reading and instruction, and mutual improvement. And so well had they improved their advantages, that the whole world might be challenged to produce a population more intelligent, as a mass, than the shoe manufacturers of New England. In point of morals, the same high standing was evident, but he would not detain the convention, Mr. Walker said, by further remarks on this point, but introduce the business on which they had assembled. It was becoming in them thus to assemble and deliberate upon their affairs. It was their duty to themselves and those they represented to do so; and he trusted they had come within those walls not in a spirit of selfishness — not with a reckless disregard of the welfare of the whole country — but in a spirit of candor, of kindness, of patriotism — in a spirit that would not willingly do aught to militate against the best interests of the whole country. And they ought to go before Congress and ask at the hands of their representatives that the duties which must be laid for the support of government, might be so laid, that while they should injure none, all might be protected. Mr. Walker concluded by returning thanks for the honor done him, and resumed his seat amidst the applause of the convention.

Mr. Hussey of Lynn, remarked that this convention reminded him of the day of Pentecost. All the delegates had come up with one accord to one place; they spoke with one voice — all were agreed on one watchword, and that was protection. The

convention come here to ask justice, and that justice would grant that protection which would give the laborer his just due. They spoke from no selfish policy, but from a regard to the north, south and west, to the interest of the laborer wherever he was to be found. A vast business was carried on by the shoemakers of Massachusetts, and Congress should be told that they possessed wealth, enterprise, and determination to direct that enterprise to a desirable end. He would offer from the committee on business the following resolutions:

[The 1st resolve was then read by the President.]

Mr. Maguire said he did not agree with this resolve—we are to take things as they are now — he could not even say that he was a free trade man, in any shape — although he was somewhat of a philanthropist, yet he did not believe that the labor of this country should be placed on the footing of the pauper labor of European countries. He hoped the resolution would be discussed — we have met here for information — to assert our rights and put them forth boldly before the world. He had doubts in his mind of the propriety of free trade, in any respect whatever.

Mr. Hussey said he did not offer these resolutions as perfect, but in the hope that they would be discussed, and, if necessary, amended.

The question being on the adoption of the above resolutions —

Mr. M'Guire, of Randolph, said that he had much at heart the interests of the whole country, but, though something of a philanthropist, he had not a heart big enough to say that the laborer of Europe should be admitted on a par with our own. He believed that our true interest would lead us to adopt a discriminating tariff: we differed much from England and France, and could not therefore institute a strict comparison between our country and those. The shoe dealers were not here to beg any thing, but to demand their rights, and he hoped they would stand by their rights. Notwithstanding there was a great party in the country opposed to the tariff, New England ought not to be rudely thrust aside, and she should not be too hasty in adopting a free trade system at all. If discriminating duties were an evil, then all laws were an evil — but still they were necessary evils — evils which must always exist so long as the world might last. Our first duty was to look at home and take care of ourselves. For that reason he did not approve of the phraseology of the first resolution.

Mr. Puttilow, of Braintree, differed from the gentleman who

had just spoken, in his sentiments as to free trade. He believed it to be a great and glorious principle, and he devoutly wished that it might become the universal law of the world, and that all men might be united in a band of brotherhood. But there was no willingness on the part of other nations to adopt this principle, and hence the day was far distant when we might hope to see this sentiment universally received and adopted as the rule of action. Meanwhile, there was a great duty incumbent on us; we had the labor of our free and well paid hands to protect against the scantily paid laborers of Europe. Look at England for instance, where the laborers were in so miserable a condition, that the banners under which they paraded the streets bore the inscription of "bread or blood." The system of free trade, if now adopted by us, would bring that starving labor in competition with our own, and ours would fall in the contest. England refused to take our corn, rye, flour, &c., which doubtless we might exchange with her if we would abandon our manufactures; but we had no way of coercing her to admit them but by encouraging our own manufactures.

The war against the tariff commenced at the South, which said to the North, "You impose a tax on us to which we will not submit: we demand that all our ports should be open to the productions of foreign countries." But mark. There was a time when the great staple of the South was indigo, and with which she supplied Europe. England desired to cripple the resources of this growing country, and turned her attention to the culture of indigo in India. What was the consequence? The indigo of India had so completely superseded that of the Southern States, that now there was not a pound of the article grown in our whole country. It would be the same with respect to cotton; and so holy were the efforts of the philanthropists in England in endeavoring to diminish slavery in the United States, by causing the productions of our slave labor to be raised elsewhere, that he believed, even if cotton were not indigenous in India, God would make its culture there succeed to the utmost. What would be the course of the South, when that time arrived? Would they then demand that there should be no tariff, that they might go into the markets of the world, and buy where, what they wanted, was the cheapest?

No! no! Their great staple would then be worthless — they would be dependent upon the North — northern shoe makers would then be lawgivers to southern slave-holders. (Applause.) Then the wisdom of the tariff would be apparent to the whole nation. We were one people and had common interests; and

all ought to join in cordially maintaining just and wise measures for the protection of those interests. For these reasons he was in favor of the adoption of the resolution under debate.

The committee on rules and orders here interrupted the debate by submitting their report, which was adopted, and the discussion proceeded.

Mr. Lindsey, of Charlestown, agreed with Mr. Hussey, that this convention resembled in some respects the gathering of the people at the day of Pentecost. Delegates had assembled with all their political differences, from the rankest whigs to the most rabid loco-focos; but if the discussion were, as he apprehended, to assume a rambling nature, he should be much astonished if the convention succeeded in speaking with one voice.

Free trade and abolition had unnecessarily been brought into the debate. Now he was willing to say for himself, that he was in favor of both free trade and abolition, but this was no place for their discussion. Members ought to confine themselves to the business of the meeting. To undertake to do too much would defeat the object in view. He would be willing to build a wall from the centre of gravity to the third heaven, encircling this country, which should be impregnable to foreign intercourse, for he believed ten thousand times more evil than good resulted from that intercourse. But that was not the question. The subject was the consideration of a discriminating or indiscriminating tariff. The Convention was the representative, not only of the forty or fifty thousand shoe dealers of Massachusetts, but of all New England, a portion of the country which, more than all the rest put together, had contributed to the securing our independence, and continuance as a nation.

She had a right to stand here and ask something; she had a right to be heard, and she *would* be heard. She asked nothing but what was right, and she would submit to nothing wrong. If the proposed horizontal tariff of 20 per cent. should be retained, the country would be flooded with foreign manufactures, particularly boots and shoes, and our own operatives would be only 20 per cent. better off than the paupers of England. Were gentlemen ready for that? The laborers would suffer most severely, for the wealthy manufacturer could stop his works and live; but what would the operatives do? Why they would almost be justified in also raising the banner of "bread or blood." He was opposed to the discussion or adoption of the resolution, because it would tend to defeat the object of the Convention, a result which we should mourn, but at which our enemies would rejoice.

Mr. Hussey, in reply, said he liked the remarks of the gentleman from Charlestown, but he thought the question of free trade was before the meeting. It was a great christian principle, and ought universally to prevail.

On motion, the debate was postponed till the afternoon, and the finance committee reported that $250 were requisite to defray the expenses of the Convention, which they recommended should be raised by contribution. The report was adopted.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The first regular resolution being again taken up, Mr. Russell, of Grafton, said that he had been astonished to hear the remark that the subject of free trade was not before the Convention, and no less astonished to hear it said, that a system of free trade could or should be established. To suppose that such a system could exist was absurd in the extreme.

He did not wish to see commercial intercourse prohibited, but he thought the more we had of it the better; he would not build a wall to heaven to shut it out, but would adopt a discriminating tariff to regulate it. In his opinion, such a tariff would increase instead of diminishing trade. It ought to be so regulated as to insure the profitable exchange of commodities for the benefit of all. No two nations could manufacture the same article alike, and the very idea of a tariff was to regulate, but not cut off, the exchange of their productions. We might not at once reap all the benefits of a tariff, for the pulsations of a nation's heart were slow; but the time would come when all would see and acknowledge its efficacy in promoting our true interest.

Mr. Mann, of Natick, moved the indefinite postponement of the first resolution, which motion, after some debate between Messrs. Hussey of Lynn, Spooner of Boston, and the mover, was rejected.

The question recurring on the resolution, it was adopted by a large majority.

The second resolution was then taken up.

Mr. Puttilow remarked that he was fully convinced of the truth of this resolution, but it did not go half far enough. We ought to look at home for part of the evil; for the jealousy existing between the South and the North leads the former to coalesce with Great Britain in destroying the manufactures of the latter. It was within the recollection of all, that when the first tariff was proposed, the North, in a solid phalanx, resisted it.

Now they were its firm advocates. But circumstances had changed. By the action of the South, then, the Northern and Middle States had been forced into manufacturing. The South had aimed a deadly blow at the commerce of the North, but the North luckily had a surplus capital and never failing-industry, which they wisely directed into a new channel, and had succeeded.

Now again it was the South that sought to give a fatal blow to the prosperity of the Northern and Middle States, and it was important for us to know, not only the disturbing cause, but also whose hand it was that wielded the deadly weapon. The South had governed, and they had plunged us into difficulty and distress. Hence the importance of impressing our Southern brethren (for we should still regard them as brethren) with the madness and infatuation of their conduct, which will not only ruin us, but involve them in the same ruin. Already the light was beginning to dawn upon them, and it should be spread wider and wider. And therefore, though apprehensive that the resolution did not go far enough, he was for its adoption, in order that we might express to our Southern brethren our opinion of their rash and suicidal policy.

Mr. William Burton, late of England, and now of Hudson, N. Y., addressed the Convention at some length, giving an account of the deplorable state to which the laborers in Great Britain were reduced. They were crushed to the earth by the immense burdens imposed upon them by the aristocracy — their wages were what their masters chose to give them — and they knew not, in many cases, what they were to receive until they were paid. If they were dissatisfied with what they got, there were enough who would work for anything. Wages were not over two or three dollars per week, while flour was seven shillings per 14 lbs., and beef 14 cents per lb.

He had left his country in disgust, and should never repent it. He besought the Convention to give heed to their doings; if they should sanction a system of free importation, and it should prevail, the laborers of England would be but little benefited, while those of America would be ruined completely, for we could not compete with a country like that. When told of hard times here, he laughed, and prayed to God that they might have *such* hard times in England. This land was springing up like a young giant, and the old world would soon have to bow before her, if she was true to herself. (Applause.) And that she might be so, he would entreat her to hold on to her tariff, so that her industrious classes might not be reduced to the miserable state of the English operatives. (Great applause.)

The second resolution was adopted, and the question was then on the third.

Mr. Hussey remarked, that to " prove all things but hold fast to that which was good," was an admirable maxim. In this country we had proved it good to have something to eat and drink every day, and he was in favor of holding on to that state of things.

Hon. Emory Washburn, of Worcester, rose, and observed that, having been invited to take a seat in this Convention, he would make a few remarks upon the important subject which had called it together. As he was not directly concerned in the business, he did not think it would be right to trespass on the time of the Convention, without coming prepared with facts, which he had done; and he hoped gentlemen would not be frightened at the packages in his hands, as he promised to be as brief as possible. It was an interesting spectacle to look around and see collected so many representatives of one branch of the industry of Massachusetts.

Mr. Lindsey, of Charlestown, inquired of the President, if it was in order for any person to make remarks who was not connected with the business of shoes or leather.

The President said, the Hon. Mr. Washburn had been invited to a seat in the Convention, as an honorary member.

Mr. Washburn observed, that if he was intruding, he would withdraw. (Cries of no, no, go on, go on.)

Mr. Washburn, after thanking the gentlemen for their kindness, proceeded with his remarks, by saying, For what are you come together? To address the government. For what? Not for money, but the right to earn it. For a chance to work. Like the blacksmith, who said he would rather go to the anvil and hammer out a character, than sue for it. Why should you be under the necessity of petitioning government for protection? One might suppose our government was a foreign despotism, such as it was when we were colonies to Great Britain, and twere forbidden to manufacture a hat or a hob-nail. But we go ao to foreign power for a boon. We ask our own fellow-citizens tndnservants at Washington, for justice, for the right of self-proect on, the first great law of nature.

There can be only three grounds on which the government can deny this prayer for protection. 1st. Because it recognizes no rule but its own caprice; or 2d. Because it is ignorant of the wants of the people; or 3d. Because it claims the right to sacrifice one kind of industry to another, or make the labor of the country the sport of fanciful theories and wild experiments. The first proposition I deny. A government is established to

promote the general welfare, and is bound to consult that alone, and to make the general good the test of its measures. As to the second, if there is this ignorance, it ought to be dispelled, and such meetings as this are calculated to do it. It cannot be denied that there is too much ignorance in the community, in regard to *facts*, on this subject. People are too ready to start *theories*, and follow *speculations*, rather than *experience*. The most plausible theory is that of free trade. There cannot be a practical free trade between nations in the same kind of industry. Take, for instance, two islands, situated any where you please, undertaking the same kind of manufactures, and carrying on rival commerce with others. If one, to compete with the other, lowers the price of its articles one half penny, what alternative has the other but to follow, and so on? On this ground, therefore, we can never compete with England or Germany, unless our wages and raw materials are reduced to the same rate as theirs. Otherwise, they will undersell us. But it is said, what one kind of industry loses in this way, another gains. If manufactures are ruined by low prices, agriculture is benefitted by an increase of prices of her products. This theory strikes at our whole system of manufactures, for England and Germany cannot, and will not give up theirs, and what chance has agriculture, if manufactures are sacrificed? Who is the loudest in praise of this theory of free trade? Why, England! What has been, and is now, her practice under it? Directly the reverse. Her navigation laws of 1651 made her present navy. Up to that time, Holland was the largest maritime nation. She never buys what she can make or grow. How does she apply this system to us? He would show that by facts, which he derived from a report by Mr. Tallmadge, President of the Home League in New York. She taxes our pork one third of its value, and never takes a spoonful of our flour, unless driven to it by necessity — by the starving condition of her people. In 1840, we shipped directly to England only 620,728 barrels of flour, worth say three millions and a half of dollars. How is the other side of the account? In the language of Mr. Tallmadge, we have to ship *one million of dollars a month in specie*, to pay for the manufactures we purchase of her. If the government will do nothing to stop this drain of specie, and check this foreign competition, how can our manufacturers thrive? Especially when no other national currency is provided to aid our laboring classes to carry on their domestic commerce.

We hear about our credit abroad being impaired. Let the government protect our industry at home, and our *mechanics* will

work the country into credit and independence. It was what England's mechanics did for *her*, during her long continual wars. We are in the progress of reduction of duties. How has the experiment of the compromise act worked, even before they have reached the lowest point, that of twenty per cent.? I ask gentlemen to look into the facts. In 1840, our domestic exports were $113,895,636, our imports $107,141,519. Of the exports, only $10,985,644 was flour. In 1841, our domestic exports were $106,059,685; our imports $124,167,883, making a difference between 1840 and 1841, against us, of 24,000,000 of dollars, and a balance against us in 1841, of $18,000,000. At this port of Boston, the imports for 1841 were $19,250,000, and the exports $9,333,154. In the year of 1840, we imported and consumed of *luxuries*, $28,816,945, of which the article of silk was at least $10,000,000. How are we to pay these balances, while most of our productions are excluded from the countries to which we are indebted?

Whence is the hostility to *Protection?* It is wholly from the South, and the reason is, the fear that we shall interfere with the foreign market for her cotton. Which ought to be most regarded? The agricultural products of the United States in a year, are said (in the Congressional report) to amount to $513,393,607; our manufactured articles to $370,451,754, while the whole cotton crop of 1840, taken, in the bulk, at ten cents per pound, would amount to less than $80,000,000, which is from six to ten millions of dollars less than the productions of our own workshops in this state, in the year 1837. Shall the farmers and mechanics — the industry of the North and West — be sacrificed, *to keep up the price of slaves and slave labor at the South!*

Will the mechanics of Massachusetts be content to go to the Carolinas to get cotton to send abroad, to buy, in English shops, what they can better make themselves? Never. How does the question stand, if we confine ourselves to the leather manufactures alone? Are they of consequence enough to be regarded in the great business of the nation? Let us look. Hazard's Register states these manufactures, including saddlery, in the year 1840, at $33,000,000. This must be a low estimate, for a recent statement gives the shoe and leather manufactures in New England at $19,697,699. Connecticut, in 1840, had of these manufactures $2,017,931; Massachusetts, in 1837, had over $18,000,000, of which boots and shoes were $14,642,250. The little county of Essex manufactured, alone, $5,399,992. There are employed in this state, in the manufacture of boots

and shoes alone, 41,624 persons, by a calculation made a year or two ago. This shoe labor is diffused through the community. It is no monopoly, and it creates a market for domestic produce, and employment for all classes. If we had purchased from abroad the boots and shoes we manufactured in Massachusetts in 1837, *all the flour exported in* 1840 *from the United States, would not have paid for them, by over* $4,000,000. It is time for the leather manufacturers to be awake to their interests, and to call the attention of the government to their *wants* and their *rights*. Suppose this idea of purchasing every thing we want from abroad, by the means of cotton, could be tolerated by a permanent system, what folly and madness to adopt it in the present state of the trade of this country. England will only buy until she can furnish her own supply. She will soon supply herself with cotton, as she did with indigo, from India and her other colonies, and then what becomes of the market for the southern cotton? What will be our condition then? Manufactures will be prostrate! Agricultural products excluded! AMERICA dependent upon the workshops of Europe for the necessaries of life, and yet too poor to command *money* to purchase them with; this will be the ruinous result of such a policy! Why go on in this road to ruin! Why not stop, and take the back track!

The people do not ask for bounty, but for PROTECTION. *They ask the right to use their own muscles and sinews — their own skill and ingenuity, and so much aid that others shall not deprive them of their means of using them, to feed and clothe themselves and educate their children.* EVERY THING THAT IS DESIRED MAY BE DONE BY DISCRIMINATING DUTIES, AND NOT A DOLLAR RAISED BEYOND THE SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT. Is this too much for the people to ask of their *own* government? I leave to other and abler hands the details of what is desired. When it is remembered what the MECHANIC ARTS have done to improve the moral, intellectual, and social condition of man; that in the progress of civilization they have taken the lead; when it is also remembered, that upon them depend our individual comforts, and our independence as a people, we ought to protect them against a policy which strikes at their prosperity, and not deprive them of that protection, and those rewards, which they so richly deserve. *The government that suffers its Mechanic Arts to languish and decay, from want of suitable protection, is recreant to the trust that is committed to its charge.*

Mr. Washburn took his seat, after this able and convincing speech was concluded, amidst rounds of applause.

The 3d Resolution was then adopted unanimously.

SPEECH OF HON. ABBOTT LAWRENCE, OF BOSTON, ON THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:

Resolved, That while the productions of American machinery may successfully compete with the productions of any other country, the productions of American *labor* (unless guarded by wholesome legislation) must fall beneath the shock of European competition. Mr. Lawrence being present by invitation, having been called upon from various parts of the chapel, rose and addressed the Convention as follows:

Mr. President,

I appear before you without having had time for the slightest preparation to make a speech on this occasion, having received your invitation to take a seat in the Convention but a few minutes before I entered the house. I should most certainly have declined the invitation with which you honored me, had I anticipated being called out to take part in your deliberations. You, Mr. President, and many others present, know that I am a man of deeds rather than words — a plain business man, and not addicted to public speaking. As it is the pleasure of the Convention that I should say something upon the resolution under discussion, I will proceed to do so, and like my able and distinguished friend who preceded me, on the most trifling intimation given that I am taking up too much of your precious time, I will at once bring my remarks to a close.

It gladdens my heart, Mr. President, to see before me so large and respectable a representation of the 40,000 persons engaged in the manufacture of leather in this commonwealth; a branch of industry very much underrated, being in reality among the most important, and perhaps it would be safe to say the largest mechanical and manufacturing interest in amount in the country. I rejoice to see the people are awake to their true interests, and that they have sent you here to consult and deliberate upon the best manner of procuring security now and hereafter to the laborers in this branch of business. I look at this Convention, assembled without distinction of party, as "the dawn of a brighter day," and I hail it with joy as the commencement of a general movement of the people in all the states, favorable to the protection of our own labor; hoping that a strong expression of public opinion may produce the adoption of a system

of measures by our government, which not only the people but the government itself requires. The remedy for the evils under which we now suffer, is in your own hands. You are the sovereigns, and can make and unmake our rulers ; it is at the ballot box that the question of protecting our labor is to be settled. The great majority of the people of this country are working men, laborers upon the soil, or in some one of the mechanical trades ; and when they, in the consciousness of their integrity and worth, rise and assert their rights by sound arguments, you may be certain they will be heard and respected by the Congress of the United States.

I ask you, fellow-citizens, to look for a moment to the condition of our country. Have we ever seen anything like it, in time of peace, before? or even since we existed as a nation? In two thirds of the states we have a paper currency not convertible into coin — without a standard of value. The credit of several of the states gone, and their stocks selling for one fifth their par value. The treasury of the United States empty, and its credit distrusted, so that treasury notes are at a discount, and government loans cannot be negotiated. The general government cannot pay its debts. Some of the states cannot pay. Banks do not pay, and is it surprising that individuals do not pay ?

Mr. President, the great business of this great country is *paralyzed* ; every branch of industry is almost at a stand still, and this too in a country blessed with everything man can desire, with all the elements of prosperity in it ; and this suffering is brought upon the people by the want of a very moderate amount of *honest and wise legislation.*

The nation, several of the states, and individuals are bankrupt. Strange as it may appear in this posture of our affairs, it is proposed to depart from the uniform policy by which we have been governed since the adoption of the constitution, and try the experiment of low and uniform duties upon imported merchandise. Sir, I am opposed to experimenting upon the labor of the country. It is a *mere experiment upon the laborer*, and a *little* experience will be sufficient to prove my assertion. I want no more foreign merchandise at present. We have already quite too much, more than we can pay for. *We import too much and manufacture too little.* " The whole question is in a nut shell," and can be seen at a glance : our distress arises chiefly from the surplus of foreign products, forced upon us in many instances by foreigners under the compromise act and ad valorem duties. Who are the men in our country that feel most

sensibly the effects of the fluctuations in the currency, excessive importations, and revulsions in business? Is it the merchant, the farmer, the professional man, or the mechanic? All men and all interests are more or less affected by these changes; but, sir, it is the hard working, frugal, industrious mechanic who is the greatest sufferer, and in no one branch of mechanical labor does the pressure of the times cause greater embarrassment than among those engaged in the manufacture of leather; for it is produced in large amounts for export to other parts of our Union, and when a link in the chain receives a blow, it vibrates to either end with a force that is felt severely by all. The annual product of leather, when manufactured in all its branches, has been estimated at 50 millions of dollars, and a large proportion of this enormous amount is made up of boots and shoes; and shall this vast interest be suffered to perish for the want of a moderate protection from the general government? Shall it be sacrificed upon the altar of an *abstraction, called free trade?* No, sir, it requires protection, and must have it. You have a right to call upon Congress to protect your labor against the distressed and miserable pauper labor of Europe. We should have a protection that will secure the journeyman and the apprentice, as well as the master workman. It is the laborer who requires the fostering arm of government.

I have already said, that the great source of our trouble is, that we import too much and manufacture too little. Why, sir, our imports for the last ten years have far exceeded our exports. We have run up a debt in Europe, the amount of which is truly frightful. The amount of state, city, bank, and other corporation stocks held abroad, which we have sold and pledged, amounts to TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. Besides this principal sum, we pay (or should do so,) nearly a million of dollars every month for interest. Yes, sir, more than two hundred thousand dollars goes every week to Europe to pay our interest on this debt. Now I ask, what have we to show for this two hundred millions of debt, created in the last ten years, under the compromise act of low duties and no duties at all on *one half of all* our imports? *Why, we have had a great amount of champagne and French ribbons, and a* LITTLE RAIL ROAD IRON. I confess that the recklessness with which our public affairs have been managed in this department of our national economy, is absolutely appalling. Our country literally mortgaged, not at home, but abroad, for TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, for which we have received the surplusses of the manufactures of every country in Europe, to the permanent

injury of our farmers, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers; in fact, of every individual, whatever his occupation or condition may be.

Many persons have regretted our loss of credit abroad; for one, I cannot agree with them, at the risk of being denounced as a political heretic. I rejoice that we cannot borrow another dollar. My only regret is, that we have been able to borrow so large an amount, much of which I fear will never be paid, to the disgrace of those who have borrowed the money. It would have been a great blessing to us all, if our credit had failed us abroad many years ago. If we had drawn the coin for the loans instead of broadcloths and calicoes, French boots and shoes, &c. &c., our debt now would have been but a small amount.

Mr. President, the question comes up at once, when we look at the condition of the country, what can be done to restore our lost prosperity, and raise the failing credit of the government? The first measure, in my humble judgment, that should have occupied the attention of Congress last December, was to have made ample provision, by the adoption of a tariff of duties upon imports, to meet all the necessary expenses of the government, and provide a sinking fund to pay off the national debt If this had been done, confidence would have been restored, and you would not witness the scenes of trouble that present themselves at the present time. I regret, however, to say that the condition of affairs at Washington is not flattering, and that many things are doing that should not be done, and a great many left undone which it "is their duty to do."

I do not speak as a politician. I wish nothing from the people but their good will, and nothing from the Executive and Congress but wise legislation, such as will restore to the whole country a fair reward for the industry of the people.

It appears to me, sir, not a very difficult matter to fix upon a plan to achieve the great objects we all have in view. A sound currency can only be based on a sound tariff; give us the latter, and we can afterwards establish the former. I am very clear in the opinion, that we can never maintain a sound currency throughout the United States, if we are to transfer our workshops to England, France, and Germany. We can never be prosperous in this country, and maintain a uniform standard of value, without protecting the laborer in his employment. Our wealth, our resources, every thing we possess and enjoy, is founded in labor; hence it must be cherished, and never suffered to languish from foreign competition.

I do not desire, Mr. President, to raise one dollar more revenue than may be required for the necessary and economical wants of the government. Looking back to the expenditures of the government, and forward to the condition of our defences upon the sea-board, our Indian relations on our borders and frontiers, together with the positive wants of the navy and army — I have estimated the expenditures at *thirty millions annually* for the next five years, and shall set aside *two millions annually* to create a sinking fund for the extinguishment of the national debt. The amount then to be raised is *thirty-two millions of dollars*. I estimate the whole amount of imports at *one hundred and ten millions*, on an average, for five years; the two first years may fall short of that amount, the three last will probably exceed the estimate. *Of this one hundred and ten millions*, I deduct from three to five millions of coin, and fifteen millions of articles, which should be free of duty, leaving about ninety millions upon which duties should be assessed. We have then ninety millions upon which we can assess thirty-two millions annually, which would give about thirty-three and a third per cent. The difficulty now arises, how shall the duties be assessed? shall it be a horizontal duty of thirty-three and one third per cent, ad valorem on every thing? or shall we adopt the principle of discrimination and specific duties? From considerable experience in these matters, I have no doubt whatever of the expediency, nay, the necessity of adopting the latter. Discrimination was adopted in the first tariff established, and should not, must not now be abandoned. Specific duties are far more safe and convenient, in most cases, than the ad valorem system. All practical merchants agree in regard to the utility of specific duties. Our own experience should not be lost upon us. The revenue, I am confident, would be much larger under specific duties, equal to twenty-five per cent, than ad valorem duties of thirty-five per cent. The effect of ad valorem duties has been to place the foreign importations of the country in the hands of foreigners; a great proportion of the ad valorem goods imported from Great Britain, are brought to us by British subjects, and nine tenths of all the ad valorem merchandise imported into New York from France, is imported by Frenchmen. So it is with ad valorem German goods. I deem it essential that there should be a specific duty upon boots and shoes. Under the tariff of 1832, you had a specific duty of one dollar and fifty cents per pair on boots, and thirty cents on shoes. Now there have been under the reduction of the compromise act, large quantities of French and German boots imported; the best

French boots cost four dollars, and the German three dollars; under an ad valorem duty, you will find these boots invoiced from France at three dollars, and perhaps at two dollars and fifty cents, and from Germany at two dollars. A duty of thirty-three and one third per cent. would not give you the protection that would enable you to pay the laborer any thing like the wages he has been in the habit of receiving; of course if his wages are materially reduced, he and his family must be deprived of many of the comforts they have usually enjoyed. Besides, you degrade the character of our now independent laboring people, when you reduce the wages of labor so low as not to allow them the means of educating their children, and clothing them decently, that they may attend public worship and the Sunday school on the Sabbath. We should exert all our efforts to elevate, and not depress the laboring classes. We live under a popular government, founded on public opinion, and it is to the intelligence of the people we are to look for its stability and permanency.

Sir, I am for universal education. I have no fear of the people learning and knowing too much. Our government cannot, will not stand, but with an intelligent and moral population. Shall we compare and place in the same scale the free, intellectual, industrious mechanics and working-men of our country, with those half-paid, half-starved, parish-fed people of Europe? No sir, my indignation is excited when I hear it said that the reason why we cannot compete with the old countries in manufactures and the mechanic arts, is because our labor is too high — we must bring down the labor, it is said, to the European standard, and then we shall go on very well. Sir, I do not desire to compete with foreign labor. I hope never to see the time when labor can be obtained at the price it is now in Great Britain. A fair hand-loom weaver obtains but from $1.75 to $2 per week. Farmers may be hired for 20 to 25 cents per day, and most kinds of mechanics in proportion; paid of course, according to their skill and employments. Most articles of subsistence, too, you must remember, are double the price they are with us. Upon the continent of Europe labor is still lower. Can we, shall we throw open our great country to the productions of all the world, and maintain free trade, which is all on one side? Not a country in Europe will take an article from this country, that they are not obliged to receive either for revenue or their manufactures. Cotton they cannot at present do without, although an effort is making, and I fear a successful one, by Great Britain, to supply herself with the common qualities from India.

Tobacco is taken for revenue with a duty from 3 to 800 per cent. Flour, pork, beef, in short all our great staples, with the exception of cotton, tobacco and rice, are prohibited, *and every article that competes in the slightest degree with their own labor.* And yet they have the assurance in England to write books and pamphlets, and to make speeches, and send out reports from the British House of Commons upon the sublimated beauties of Free Trade. We have seen their plans from the time of Mr. Huskisson, and have had an abundance of theores up to the last report of Mr. Hume — and it has all ended in promises. Not a step has been taken to *ameliorate* the restrictive system of Great Britain — nor do I believe that there is any prospect of a change that will be of the smallest benefi to us. The Corn Laws, it has been often said, for the last fifteetn years, would be repealed. Has it been done? No. Nor will they be repealed, or modified, so as to admit foreign corn, without the price reaches about $2 per bushel with the duty. I am tired of this everlasting speculation upon free trade. It means nothing. It is ideal, a mere phantom, and not to be entertained by practical men. It is a transcendental, utopian doctrine, that has no practical result. My friends, we have in this country but one course to pursue, and that is to look to *our own country,* and to the special care of our own labor — let us protect it — and with the protection that a paternal government is bound to extend to this all-important interest, I have no fears for the prosperity of our glorious republic. I have very much at heart the success of this question, which is soon I think to agitate the whole nation — and I feel its importance to such an extent, that I sincerely believe that nothing now will save the country from almost fatal bankruptcy but a tariff, embracing the principle of discrimination and specific duties — and unwilling as I always have been to appear in public, I am ready to spend and be spent in this cause, which I believe to be that of the country's best good — and would willingly, if it should be found necessary, buckle on the armor, and canvass our good old Bay State, from the shores of Cape Cod to the hills of Berkshire. I am encouraged, however, in looking to the future, from the fact that there are indications that the people are taking this matter into their own hands. I was highly gratified to learn a few days ago — after an eclipse of five and twenty years — that a bright spot could be seen in New Hampshire, where an influential gentleman, long in the public service, who has of late been devoting himself to agriculture, and editing a most excellent agricultural paper, has changed ground, and has well

urged that the best way to encourage agriculture, is to give its products a home market, by protecting home manufactures. New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio too are discussing the question with spirit and ability. I hope that a strong expression of public opinion will produce the result we so much wish.

Mr. President, I am admonished by the clock that I have already consumed too much of your valuable time, and will only add that I welcome the members of this convention to our city on my own account, and feel assured that I may include our whole population, who I am certain entertain the same sentiments that you and I do, upon the important question which has brought you together.

I cannot but express the hope that a national convention may be held, composed of representatives of the working men of our country — and let them come together without party feeling. My friends, it is time to discard our political and party bickerings. There is a crisis in our affairs, which demands of us this sacrifice upon the altar of patriotism. Let us know no other party than that of *one* for our country, without reference to party leaders. Of what consequence is it to you or me, who administers the government, provided it be well administered? For myself, I shall go for the country, and care not who may be the Chief Executive of the nation, if he be honest, capable, and faithful to the constitution.

EVENING SESSION.

When the Convention came together, instead of proceeding to discuss the 5th Resolution in course, the Chairman of the Business Committee introduced and read a memorial to Congress; stating in general terms that upwards of 40,000 persons in this Commonwealth were engaged in the shoe manufacturing, which was more than one third of the whole number of persons engaged in manufacturing in the whole State; that the gross amount of capital employed in the trade was more than $18,000,000: that it was entirely the work of manual power, without the aid of machinery; and that, if the operatives engaged in this branch of industry were obliged to contend directly with the pauper labor of Europe, they must be driven to seek other employment.

The memorial then went on to specify a duty of 50 per cent. on Ladies' Kid and Morocco boots, and 30 per cent. on most other articles connected with the trade, (we do not specify the duty named to each article,) which would, in the opinion of the

memorialists, be an adequate protection. At the same time the memorialists state that they are not the advocates of a high protective tariff, by which the whole public should be taxed for the benefit of a single interest; that they are in favor of a proper discrimination between such articles as could be produced by the industry of the country, and such as could not; and that in the abstract they are in favor of a free exchange of commodities, and hope to see the time when the great principles of *free trade* should bless all mankind.

The reading of this memorial created some little uneasiness and sensation in the convention, and it was easy to perceive that some parts of it must meet with strenuous opposition. The motion was to adopt it, *subject to revision*; but some thought it best to revise it before its adoption, and "revise it altogether."

Mr. Walker, of N. Brookfield, thought it a very important document, and he hoped that all that part of it which related to "free trade" might be stricken out. They had already discussed and settled that subject, and he did not wish to see it dragged into the convention.

The Chairman of the Committee who introduced the memorial, begged to say a few words. As to the "free trade" part of the document, he said it meant little or nothing. It was safe for us to talk about free trade in the abstract, for there was no danger that other nations would ever meet us on that common ground. We well know that many of those to whom the memorial was addressed were free trade men, and he thought it as well to show a proper respect to their opinions, as to court their enmity in advance. He would tell the Southern gentlemen what we want— and then tell them we will have it.

Mr. Walker of North Brookfield, objected to any double-dealing in the matter; and said he still hoped the "free trade" part of the memorial would be stricken out; and finally a direct motion was made to re-commit it for that purpose.

Mr. Mudge of Lynn, did not like the memorial at all. Free trade he said was a mere chimera — a thing to talk about, but a thing that would never answer for this country until the whole state of society in other countries was changed.

REMARKS OF MR. WALKER,

PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION, IN DEFENCE OF THE MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS — HON. ISAIAH BREED IN THE CHAIR.

MR. PRESIDENT, — I did not intend to address the Convention at this time, but the attack which has been made upon the memorial now on your table, on account of the recognition which it contains of the abstract truth of the doctrine of FREE TRADE, compels me to rise in its defence.

I hope that we are assembled here, sir, in a liberal spirit, without any party or sectarian feeling; not as the advocates of any particular system, but as a class of men deeply interested in the common welfare of our common country; and I trust we shall manifest candor, moderation and kindness. I have therefore been sorry to hear the objections that have been made to what I think the correct and liberal admissions contained in the document before you; admissions certainly calculated to soften asperities and remove prejudices; and consequently to advance the interests of our cause.

And, sir, they are concessions which I believe consistent with truth, and the soundest doctrines of economical science; and far be it from me, sir, to assent, even by silence, to any sentiments at war with those contained in the memorial.

No, sir, I will distinctly say here, and every where, that I regard the whole system of restrictions as unqualifiedly bad; *malum in se.*

But, bad as it is, it is yet a system which has been entailed upon the world by the false and selfish legislation of England and other nations of Europe. We are therefore called upon to *defend* ourselves against such an abomination, but not to *approve* it.

We are to regard the restrictive system as we regard war, as a great calamity; and its whole operation on the great family of nations as only evil, and that continually. But, while war is a great evil, no sober man would wish all the military defences of the nation at once destroyed, while the people retained all their belligerent feelings and propensities; and while violence and disorder were the ruling spirits of the age.

The true philanthropist would endeavor to change that public sentiment which created the necessity of such preparations for the dreadful work of death.

So with the tariff system. It is a commercial warfare waged by nations against each other; and is at utter variance with the best interests of universal man. Our endeavor should be,

as suggested in the memorial, to create a correct public sentiment, " and meet in the spirit of kindness and reciprocity every advance made by other nations to that most desirable result," the general emancipation of Commerce.

But, sir, let us never for a moment contemplate the restrictive system as an object of complacency and admiration.

It would be a great and fatal error ; for, let us remember that it severs the golden chain of commerce that should bind all mankind together ; that it calls forth the worst passions of the human heart, and generates fraud, and corruption ; that it creates an unnatural growth of branches of industry not best adapted to the condition of a country ; and throws all trade and commerce out of its proper channels ; and at last, as a righteous retribution resulting from the violated laws of nature, it defeats the very end it has in view.

This last declaration is fully sustained by looking at the condition of England, as exhibited in the elaborate report on import duties, which I hold in my hand, made in 1840, to the British Parliament by a committee, of which the Hon. Mr. Hume was Chairman.

Here, sir, is a huge volume filled with the facts, elicited by nearly 3500 questions propounded to the different manufacturers and dealers brought before that committee ; and what do these facts show, sir ? Why, that the manufacturers of England are rapidly and hopelessly sinking under the tremendous system of restrictions and taxation to which they are subjected ; that her suicidal policy has established rival manufactures all over the continent of Europe, which are rapidly excluding her products from foreign markets. The evidence is incontestable ; and although the overpowering influence of the landed interest, and the resistance interposed by the aristocracy of wealth and station, may for a while prevent all liberal and correct legislation ; the time must come, and that soon, when the Corn Laws, and all her insane and iniquitous monopolies, will be abolished for ever, and perfect freedom be extended to the products of every clime.

For this consummation every enlightened and impartial legislator in Europe is striving ; towards this, the great manufacturing interest of England already begins to look as its only remedy.

Let us not, then, throw any obstacles in the way of this great and desirable reform ; but while we make such discriminations in our own duties as shall best preserve those important interests which have grown up since the tariff of 1816, let us be

ready when other nations make any advances toward universal freedom of trade, to meet them with promptitude and cordiality.

No, Mr. President, let us never look to a system of restrictions as the permanent and settled policy of this country. Let us regard all such measures as a dire but temporary necessity; and let us anticipate with joy the period when they shall be entirely abolished.

I well know, sir, that free trade is denounced as a "fanciful theory," a "visionary scheme;" but, sir, I am bold to declare that I believe it the glorious vision of truth; and of its full realization in the gradual progress of civilization and human improvement, I have not a doubt. The blessed period will arrive, and God grant it may come soon, when in the language of the memorial, "universal freedom of commerce shall bless all mankind."

Sir, let us not mutilate the memorial. It is conciliatory in spirit, it is sound in principle, it is one consistent whole, and as such let as give it our unanimous approval.

The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Resolutions were adopted.

The 9th Resolution was read, and Mr. Hussey, of Lynn, enforced the necessity of protection to all the sections of the country. He traced the history of the manufactures of our country, the policy of the Southern states, ever jealous of Northern prosperity, and emphatically declared, that any long continued opposition to the tariff could not be looked for from the South.

How long, (said he, quoting a question recently agitated at a Southern Convention,) how long will England want our cotton at its lowest cost of production, eight cents per lb, when the same article is produced in the East Indies for one half the price. The production of East India cotton was as great this year as that of the United States in 1827, and in five years the mother country would supply herself with this staple from her colonies.

SPEECH OF ROBERT RANTOUL, JR., ESQ.,

Resolved, That a duty about equal to that which existed up to 1835, is alike demanded by the interests of the north, south and west; and that with a sound currency we may check that over importation which is draining our country of specie, and thus destroying the basis of our business transactions.

The above resolution being under discussion, Mr. Rantoul

appeared on the stand, and after being heartily welcomed by the audience, proceeded to address the Convention as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I should prefer to be a listener on this occasion, especially as I have this moment entered and do not know what has been done here to-day; but at your suggestion I will offer a few remarks upon the resolution before the Convention, and in doing so I shall say what I have already stated at different times, in reference to the currency, industry, and prosperity of the country.

I have always been a friend to American industry; protection it must have, or bankruptcy will pervade the entire country; let the industry of the country be protected as it ought to be, and but a few years would pass before prosperity would again appear throughout our land, and business present a new aspect.

This, sir, is the true course, and the only rational and consistent one to be pursued. Congress has full power to impose duties for the purpose of revenue, and so to distribute these duties as shall produce the least injury and the most incidental benefit; to do otherwise would be a most impolitic and ungenerous course of legislation. When an unnatural encouragement is given to the importation of articles which come into competition with our own manufactures, the industry of the country suffers in consequence, and years must pass by before it again resume its energies.

Such an unnatural stimulus to foreign importations has been administered by the action of our general and state governments for many years past, by a course of legislation which has produced a series of periodical inflations of our currency. In every one of these inflations, high prices held out irresistible temptations to flood the country with goods from abroad, not needed for the actual wants of the people: the prices soon fell, and then these vast over importations, at their reduced value, must be sold, and must crowd down the prices of the domestic article. This operation no tariff can prevent. It is high time, then, that the hand of legislation should protect the labor of the country; not by a *high tariff*, for while it imposes discriminating duties on articles of foreign manufacture to the amount required for the revenue of the government, it should put a stop to the excitement it has heretofore administered to excessive importations. The power of the laborer is not felt, as it should be, in the legislation, which immediately concerns his interests, because he is confined in his shop or in the field, and does not act in a combined capacity in asserting and maintaining his rights; but when

intelligent men move in masses in vindication of their rights, as you have on this occasion, they will be heard, and protection to their industry secured. (Hear, hear.)

Why, sir, there are those who seem to think, that if a high tariff was laid upon all foreign manufactures, it would restore prosperity to our distracted country; but were ad valorem duties laid upon European manufactures, it would not be a safe nor an effective remedy. We may try this and that experiment, but it is all in vain; nothing will revive the business of the country, and give stability to our government, but a *sound currency;* that, and that alone, will give protection to American industry, to the exclusion of excessive importations of the manufactures of England and France. We need not go back to the days of our grandfathers to search for light on this subject, for if we do we shall find no specific that can cure the evil: our nation wants *stability* in the transactions of her financial affairs. If our business men have capital to invest, it is necessary that they should have some data on which to base their calculations, that at the expiration of a given period, for which their money is invested, whether it be in the manufacture of shoes, leather, or any thing else, that the financial affairs of the country will be something nearly the same at the end of that period that they were at the time of the investment; and a sound currency is alone adequate to secure this desirable object. (Applause.)

You must have a sound currency before your currency can be safe. We have seen how it operates when our goods go to foreign countries. We export the most when prices are the highest, and when the pressure comes, they suspend the specie payments in the banks, and this governs the prices of the laborers of the country. We exported cotton when it was twelve, eighteen, and twenty cents per pound, and imported millions on millions of foreign goods at prices in proportion. But when did we pay for these goods? Why when cotton had fallen to six, seven and eight cents per pound, and we paid in cotton at those low prices. So long as our paper was floating on a false foundation, the prices kept up, but it soon failed to answer the purposes of a sound currency. Whenever a contraction happened, there necessarily followed a diminution in the prices of labor. At one time the country is flooded with paper, then up go the prices, just in proportion to the amount in circulation; then it is called in by the banks, and the prices fall as much below their real value as they were raised above it by this deceptive capital. Get your currency steady, and industry will be rewarded in all the community. For several years the country has been groan-

ing under the pressure of bank curtailments till she is well nigh ruined, and the north, south and west are all equally interested in checking the evil, the tendency of which is to encourage importations beyond the actual wants of the country, thus draining it of what little specie is in circulation, and thereby compelling your banks to curtail. Now I want to see all branches of industry flourishing in the nation, the leather, as well as the woollen and cotton manufactures, but I know they never will without a sound currency, even under a high tariff. They must always have protection. It is true, so far as the specific amount of duties required for revenue would go to protect them, some encouragement would be given to them; but a sound and settled currency they need still more, or they will always be writhing under the pressure of depreciated paper. (Hear, hear.)

When I reflect upon the distresses of men in business from 1836 to the present time, I wonder there has not been more failures than have occurred. It would seem as though some men thought that just in proportion as they made paper plenty, they increased the wealth of the nation, not remembering that it is only the *representative* of money, and not the money itself, and that when it represents to the industrious mechanic that there is more money in the country than there really is, it deceives him. It induces dealers to enter into large speculations and make greater investments than they otherwise would, which too often terminate in utter ruin; from which your high tariff and bankrupt laws can never redeem them. (True.) We have exported flour to the Mediterranean at ten dollars per barrel, when a dollar here was not worth so much as it is in France; and now your banks are all paralyzed, and no specie is in circulation, of any amount, and money must be loaned to defray the expenses of government; and this is the regular course of trade! I have dwelt longer on this point than I should, had I not been deeply impressed with the importance of this clause in the resolution, and I may say in one word, that a sound currency is *indispensable* to the prosperity of the manufacturing industry in our country; not as being a mere form without a truth, but established upon a sound and permanent basis; not as the vision of a day, but as the opinions of the best financiers in our country, who have deliberately investigated this whole subject, and watched its bearings on the industry of the country; and I doubt not the commission that will bear these resolutions to Congress will do all that lies in their power to urge on the members of that body, that effective measures should be speedily adopted to relieve the embarrassments under which business men in our country are

laboring; and to place the laborer of the country in circumstances where he can see the fruit of his toil, and receive a fair equivalent for that industry, which is one of the grand pillars on which our republican institutions rest. (Loud and continued cheering.)*

The President addressed the Convention upon the same subject as follows:

MR. WALKER'S REMARKS ON THE NINTH RESOLUTION.

The ninth resolution being under discussion, viz. "Resolved, That a duty about equal to that which existed up to 1835 is alike demanded by the interests of the north and south and west; that with a sound currency we may check that over-importation which is draining our country of its specie, and thus destroying the basis of our business transactions," the President, having called TYLER BACHELLER, Esq., to the Chair, addressed the convention as follows.

MR. PRESIDENT,—When we are called in a court of justice to give testimony, we are bound by the solemn sanction of an oath, to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; the moral obligation is, however, no greater on that occasion than on this, to speak with frankness and honesty.

This resolution, sir, written and introduced to the convention without any knowledge or influence on my part, and by a gentleman too, belonging to a different political party from myself, I am very happy to observe recognizes the great and important truth that a SOUND CURRENCY is essential to the success of any scheme intended to protect and preserve our manufacturing interests. Yes, sir, it is indeed entirely *essential;* for without it, such will be the constant temptations to over-importations, such the rapid fluctuations in the monetary affairs of this country, and such the high nominal prices of our products, that all efforts to maintain a permanent state of prosperity will be found wholly unavailing.

We cannot rely merely on a high tariff. The experience of past years fully settles the question, that high duties have *no tendency* to prevent over-importations, and a consequent drain of specie. We must look to something else. And sir, to what

* Note by the Reporter. — In this abstract we have omitted much that was said by Mr. R., so that the connection will not so plainly appear as it did to those who listened to him.

shall we look? There can be but one answer, and that is, to a sound currency. And what is a sound currency? A *specie* currency. There can be no other. By specie currency, I mean, sir, a currency in which every paper dollar is actually based upon a specie dollar in the vaults of the bank that issues it. Any other currency is a fraud upon the people, and an unqualified curse to the whole community. So I judge, sir, after an experience of more than 20 years in business, and several years close study on the subject of the currency.

The truth of this doctrine finds confirmation in the experience of the last year. Eight or nine months since all the banks of the north were engaged in a rapid extension of their loans and a great expansion of their circulation. Money was plenty and cheap. Private individuals could not loan their money at six per cent. This expansion gave a great impulse to business. Goods sold freely, and at a handsome profit. This, as a matter of course, induced large orders for fall goods, which necessarily after a short time, required heavy remittances to Europe. The banks were called upon for specie, and for every dollar they paid out in specie, they were compelled to take in three of their circulation. This together with the coincident call of the government, has produced a great scarcity of money; a derangement and suspension of business; a fall of property, distress and bankruptcy, until at this moment, all is dejection and dismay. Our manufacturers are paralyzed, and industry interrupted.

Such is the history of the past 9 months; and alas, such has been the history of our country at alternate periods for the last 30 years. Over-trading and over-importations at one time, with depression, stagnation, and commercial and manufacturing distress, at another, have been the sad experience of the past; and must ever be, so long as we tolerate such a false system of currency.

Yes sir, I pronounce it a false and pernicious system; and declare most solemnly and deliberately, that I consider it one of the greatest evils we have to encounter. *Paper money, sir, in my estimation, is to the business world what alcohol is to the human system.*

It is perfectly analogous. It stimulates, excites, and maddens the community. It makes men feel rich, when they are poor; feel strong, when they are weak. It is a subtle poison which insinuates itself into the body politic, producing disease and death.

I suppose, sir, that few who hear me will now assent to the justness of this declaration; but I feel entirely certain that the

time is not far distant when all will do so; for I am no more confident that total abstinence from ardent spirits is the only safeguard against intemperance, than I am that total abstinence from all fictitious paper money is the only safeguard of our pecuniary interests, our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial prosperity.

Mark me, sir, when I repeat that nothing but a sound currency can prevent those tremendous revulsions which have heretofore spread such devastation and ruin over the whole face of our country; nothing without this can effectually protect our manufactures.

If New England would maintain her proud supremacy in the Union, she must be to the south and west what Old England has been to other nations. She must be the grand workshop of the country. But this she cannot be, unless she can afford her products *cheap*. The west is as competent to manufacture as the east. She has an intelligent population, and she has water and steam power in abundance.

She *can* manufacture and she *will*, unless we can afford our fabrics so low that she cannot afford to make them herself. High prices of goods, and extravagant expenses of living, will most assuredly destroy our manufacturing interest in New England, even if we should be perfectly protected against foreign competition. Our great object must be therefore to reduce all the expenses of living as low as possible; so that the laborer can get his reward, and yet be able to afford our manufactures at such prices as to prevent the west from finding its interest in any thing but its agriculture.

To do all this we *must* have a currency that is a perfect reality. We must have nothing fictitious. We have enough sound and real capital, and we should set our faces against every attempt to introduce into the currency any thing but gold and silver, or its *actual* representative.

Deeply impressed with this sentiment, it was with great pleasure, Mr. President, that I heard this resolution proposed on the present occasion; and believing that the very best interests of the country demand that the people should give this matter an anxious and careful examination in all its important bearings, I have felt it my duty thus briefly to present my views to the convention.

The question next being upon the passage of the 10th Resolution, it was carried, after being amended by striking out the words *last* and *awl* contained therein, &c.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th Resolutions were carried without debate. The 15th was stricken out, after some remarks upon its inutility by Mr. Russel, of Grafton. The 16th was also lost.

ROLL OF CONVENTION.

Ichabod Lindsey, Charlestown.
Wm. W. Merrick, Methuen.
Robinson Frye "
Isaac H. Kelley, Haverhill.
George W. Raddin, Lynn.
Jacob Newhall, jr., Saugus.
Leonard Johnson, Bradford.
Thomas Bradley, "
Samuel White, Quincy.
J. B. Sumner, "
Ebenezer G. Parker, Lynn.
Jesse Holmes, Stoughton.
Oliver Wendall, Lynn.
Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
M. C. Butman, Lynn.
Abel Newhall, Saugus.
Hervey Cushing, Weymouth.
John Cushing, "
Thomas Humphrey, "
Obadiah Kimball, Danvers,
Caleb Lowe, "
Timothy Munroe, jr., Lynn.
Ezra Leach, Weymouth.
John Cummings, Woburn.
Edward Potter, Braintree.
J. E. Holbrook, "
J. M. French, "
S. D. Hayden, "
Gardner Penniman, "
A. A. Evans, Salem.
R. A. Hayden, Braintree.
Daniel Howe, "
Alpha Richardson, Stoneham.
Edward Bucknam, "
John Mulford, Quincy.
Otis Gibbens, Lynn.
Freeman Wolcot, N. Brookfield.
John Low, Lynn.
Thomas Arey, Quincy.
H. M. Wilder, Danvers.
C. N. Burrage, N. Reading.
Thomas C. Norris, "
Ephraim Allen, Salem.
Wm. Sparhawk, Marblehead.
Allen Rowe, Stoneham.
W. R. Perkins, Reading.
Samuel Sweetser, Woburn.
John Alden, jr., Reading.
Quincy Pratt, "
Isaac Williams, jr., "
Thomas B. Porter, Lynn.
Benjamin Burrill, "
Joseph M. Fuller, "
John W. Thomas, "
Levi Tirrell, "
Robert A. Hayden, "
Thomas J. Noyes, "
John Hollis, Weymouth.
Henry Thayer, "
Hezekiah Thayer "
James Hollis, "
Laban Joy, "
Kendall Osborne, Danvers.
Joel Hollis, Weymouth.
Charles Alden, Randolph.
N. H. Brigham, Boston.
Josiah Brackett, "
George Hood, Lynn.
Eliab Parker, jr., Reading.
Aaron Weston, "
John F. Hammond, "
Henry Sprague, Saugus.

J. B. Hitchings, Saugus.
William Mansfield, "
Richard Currier, Lynn.
Chs. Atherton, N. Bridgewater.
G. W. Bryant, "
Ira M French, "
Chas. L. Hathaway, "
John Tilden, "
C. S. Claverly, Weymouth.
Henry Claverly, " [water.
Perez Marshall, N. Bridge-
Charles Hall, Quincy.
Lewis Richard, Salem.
B. C. Newhall, Lynn.
Wm. Haskell, "
J. W. Thomas, Weymouth.
Elam Burnham, Hamilton.
Hiram Dodge, "
Gilman Burrell, Weymouth.
John E. Dixey, Boston.
John Stevenson, Braintree.
Benjamin Bass, Quincy.
Albert Thayer, "
T. H. Bell, Boston.
J. Richards, Weymouth.
Stephen Foster, Reading.
James B. Chase, Lynn.
G. A. Coggin, Reading.
J. L. Pratt, "
Oliver Peabody, "
George Burnham, Natick.
S. C. Herring, "
James Barrey, Lynn.
John B. Burrell, "
J. Clarkson Breed, "
Tyler Bacheller, N. Brookfield.
Ebenezer Buswell, Salem.
John M. Warren, Brimfield.
Robt. Robertson, Newburyport.
Cyrus Hobbs, Danvers.
Ephraim H. Johnson, "
William O. Wallis, "
Joseph Hale, Boxford.
Jacob Caldwell, Ipswich.
Joseph Tolwell, Ipswich.
William K. Benley, Beverly.
Henry Poor, Danvers.
James K. Barker, Methuen.
David L. Webster, Boston.
A. Stoddard, Braintree.
William Phillips, Lynn.
Jacob Purinton, "
James Neal, "
Moses S. Breed, "
Daniel Chase, "
Charles Weston, Salem.
Isaiah Nichols, Lynn.
John Blackburn, Roxbury.
Philip Chase, Lynn.
Ezra R. Tibbetts, "
William A Draper, Worcester.
David N. Swasey, Lynnfield.
Joseph S. Black, N. Danvers.
Moses Putnam, "
J. M. Demritt, "
Moses Tenney, "
Jeremiah Putnam, jr., "
William S. Boyee, Lynn.
Daniel C. Baker, "
David Whittaker, "
William Law, "
H. R. Pierce, "
Robert M. Clay, "
Joseph Dalton, Salem.
Eleazer M. Dalton, "
Newell Brackett, Boston.
Aaron Putnam, Danvers.
Asa Sawyer, Boston.
Samuel P. Trask, Lynn.
Mark H. Davis, "
Merrill Gove, "
Ebenezer S. Flint, "
John H. Rogers, Boston.
Daniel A. Sawin, "
S. W. French, Randolph.
Thomas H. Sweetser, Reading.
B. B. Breed, Lynn.
Aaron J. Danforth, "

Stephen Fernald, Lynn.
Thomas Nichols, "
Amos Gage, "
William Elliott, "
Albert Wilkins, "
Nathaniel Tuttle, "
William Maloon, "
Woodbridge Adams, "
Zacheus Gould "
Richard Phillips, jr., Topsfield.
Rufus K. Pratt, Weymouth.
Luther Weston, Reading.
Thomas Mansfield, Saugus.
David J. Tirrell, Weymouth.
Edward Parker, Woburn.
Lewis Sumner, Stoughton.
Samuel Hildreth, Lynn.
William Mitchell, Boston.
J. C. Pitman, Salem.
Henry B. May, Boston.
John H. Wales, Stoughton.
W. S. Gerry, Harvard.
Henry Knight, S. Reading.
J. M. Evans, "
David Hunt, Salem.
Thomas T. Dalton, "
Francis Tirrill, Weymouth.
Andrew Rupp, Salem.
John Tidd, Woburn.
J. C. Saunderson, Lynn.
Henry F. Putnam, Danvers.
Wm. R. Whittier, Haverhill.
George A. Putnam, Danvers.
David Whitney, N. Brookfield.
Gideon B, Jenks, "
Jonathan Whipple, Grafton,
W. C. Murdock, Boston.
Seth Bryant, "
Drury Fairbanks, "
Samuel Guild, Roxbury.
James Boyd, Boston.
G. M. Herring, Natick.
Thomas M. Rowland, Boston.
Moses B. Sewall, Charlestown.
Ebenr. L. Pool, E. Weymouth.
Cottington Nash, "
James Jones, Weymouth.
John Belcher, jr., Randolph.
Gilbert Tufts, Charlestown.
John Ewers, Boston.
William Kingman, Weymouth,
Loring Jacobs, jr., Scituate.
James Swan, Stoughton.
Henry Perkins, Lynn.
S. Gilman, Oxford.
A. S. Wetherill, "
Clift Rogers, Quincy.
John Pratt, Lynn.
James M. Sargent, "
Moses R. Marsh, Quincy.
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William Burton, Hudson, N. Y.
Isaiah Breed, Lynn.
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James Phillips, "
John B. Chase, "
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Otis Rich, "
H. Penniman, "
Joshua Sylvester, Danvers.
Moses Black, jr., "
R. Crowningshield "
E. A. Kittridge, Lynn.
Enoch Hoag, "
James Holland, "
Thomas Huse, Newbury.
D. M. Whitney, Natick.
Luther Clark, Stoughton.
Henry Drake, "
John Tilden, N. Bridgewater.
P. Marshall, "
James Tirrell, Weymouth.
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Jonathan White, E. Randolph.
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J. Arnold, Braintree.

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Ebenezer Meacom, Danvers.
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John Wolcott, Natick.
Nestor Houghton, Boston.
Edwd. Hathaway, Charlestown.
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Hill Booth, Boston.
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Washington Ellis, Milton.
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Eben Clapp, Dorchester.
Daniel Tufts, Charlestown.
Ebenezer Brown, Lynn.
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George Nichols, Salem.
C. Harrington, "
A. Dodge, Wenham.
J. W. Carlton, Methuen.
Francis Done, Danvers.
Edwin Emerson, Weymouth.
Jacob French, "
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Samuel Pitman, Salem.
Benjamin Upton, Danvers.
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Reuben Nichols, Reading.
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John Reed, Boston.
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Calvin Rockwood, Hollistown.
B. F. Batchelder, "
Elihu Cutter, jr., "
William Horton, "
Nathan Kimball, Lynn.
Joseph Buswell, Methuen.
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Ruben Hunt, "
David Lefavour, "
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Peter Fletcher, "
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Lemuel Clapp, "
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L. Holden, Woburn.
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Charles Poor, Charlestown.
O. W. S. Arnold, "

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C. S. Haywood, "
J. B. Sibley, "
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P. Henshaw, Brookfield.
Aaron Batenan, Danvers.
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C. B. Townsend, Woburn.
S. Weymouth, "
G. Kimball, Rowley.
E. S. Boynton, "
J. Boynton, Ipswich.
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S. H. Waitt, Malden.
James Guild, Roxbury.
Alexander Strong, Boston.
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Seth T. Thayer, "
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Daniel Farrington, Lynn.
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Oliver Ramsdell, Lynn.
Timothy S. Crane, "
A. H. Reed, Reading.
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J. N. Richardson, Lynn.
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Alfred Pratt, "
Westcott & Rockwood, "
Nathl. Boardman, "
William Wales, Grafton.
George W. Hastings, "
Varnum Sweetser, S. Reading.
Daniel N. Prime, Rowley.
Jeremiah Stickney, "

Joshua Hale, "
Gorham Smith, "
David Hewes, Stoneham.
Amariah Wilcox, "
James Hall, Boston.
Wm. B. Spooner, "
Sylvester Blanchard, "
William Wilson, Bedford.
Reed Blanchard, Weymouth.
Nicholas Thayer, "
John Turn, "
Israel Turn, "
Hapgood Wright, Lowell.
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Samuel Bowditch, Braintree.
William Ellison, Quincy.
A. P. Nash, Weymouth.
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E. P. Drussel, Haverhill.
Jas. M. Howard, Charlestown.
Luther Swan, Stoughton.
Simeon T. Drake, "
Jacob Tufts, South Reading.
William A. Scott, Quincy.
John J. Baker, Beverly.
Elbridge Lovejoy, Lynn.
R. S. Ham, Lynn.
T. B. Smith, Beverly.
J. W. Wiggin, Hopkinton.
Williams Ingalls, Lynn.
Robert Thompson, Dedham.
John C. Gove, Lynn.
John Trask, "
J. W. Whiting, Quincy.
H. G. Whiting, "
Amos Brooks, "
Daniel Trow, Andover.
Ebenezer Merrill, "
Samuel Frye 3d, "
Enoch Frye 3d, "
Joseph Walker, Hopkinton.
William Seaver, "
Moses L. Buck, "

A. R. Ellery, Hopkinton.
John Whitney, Grafton.
Jonathan Walker, "
Nathaniel W. Osgood, Salem.
Jacob Woburn, Woburn.
James P. Boyce, Salem.
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Levi Bacon "
John Carroll, "
Charles Holmes, Lynn.
Warren Gay, "
Benj. Hewins, jr., "
Charles D. Hixon,
Josiah H. Richardson, Woburn.
Robert Callahan, Reading.
J. B. Wilcox, "
A. T. Vail, Boston.
Thos. Vickery, "
Lilley Eaton, Reading.
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Stephen Nicholson, jr., "
Seth Sumner, "
B. Chandler, "
J. R. Jewett, jr., "
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Thomas Foss, Marblehead.
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Jonathan Brown, "
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N. Pitman, Salem.
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Abbott Lawrence, Boston.
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L. B. Hampton, Salem.
E. C. Thayer, Braintree.
J. A. Meldrum, Wenham.
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Abijah Thompson, Woburn.
William Sutton, Lynn.
Thomas Puttilow, Braintree.

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Orin Barnard, Andover.
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John Tuck, "
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Daniel Boynton, "
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John Hart, "
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Moses Meldrum, "
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Richard Dodge, "
Charles Tarbell, "
Putnam Shattuck, "
Charles Winn, "
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Thos. P. Richardson "
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Jonathan Buffum, Lynn.
Samuel Chase, Haverhill.
Kingman A. Shaw, Weymouth.
Charles L. More, Randolph.
Hiram Alden, "
Eli Hayden, Quincy.
W. R. Raymond, Charlestown.
Dexter Walker, Milford.
Aaron C. Mayhew, "
Valentine Maeder, Lynn.
David Daniels, Danvers.
Elijah A. Hanson, "
John Hilton, Lynn.
Aaron D. Wait, "
Harris Patten, "
George L. Ingersoll, Woburn.
Charles Bond, "
Jonathan Tidd, "
Leonard W. Parks, "
Charles Veazie, "
W. T. Choate, "
David M. Hildreth, Lynn.
Samuel Sargent, "
William Johnson, "
George W. Wheeler, Lynn.
T. A. Newhall, "
S. Swett, Boston.
Benj. Cummings, N. Brookfield.
Hiram Edson, "
William Whiton, Hingham.
William O. Nash, "
Alfred Loring, "
Henry Cushing, "
Joseph Kelley, "
James Hill, Stoughton.
Thomas French, Weymouth.
Matthew Clark, Randolph.
Benj. Richardson, jr., Lynn.
Samuel Larrabee, "
Joseph Danforth "
Francis S. Dodge, Saugus.
Wm. W. Boardman, "
Benjamin Lathrop, Randolph.
Elam Burnham.
Aaron Dodge, Hamilton.
Benjamin Winter.
John Kimball.
J. S. Hodgkins.
J. A. Lord, Danvers.
Augustus Bachellor.
Sumner Southwick.
Benjamin McLaughlin.
Samuel M. Bubier, Lynn.
Allen Sawyer.
C. S. Tenney, Georgetown.
Nathaniel Silvester, Danvers.
John Lovejoy, Lynn.
J. W. Slocumb, Grafton.
William Black, Danvers.
Augustus Fowler, "
Ivory Fall, Lynn.
Daniel Flagg, Charlestown.
A. P. Prichard, "
Eben White, "
Ashbel Waite, "
Thomas Swan 2d, "
Thos. Richardson, "
S. Henderson, jr., Salem.

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Henry Loird, Weymouth.
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Robert Swan, Stoughton.
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W. S. Balch, Bradford.
Jonas Barnard, Roxbury.
Sewall Raddin, Lynn.
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Warren Burrill, Lynn.
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Joel West, Salem. [town.
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Isaac Field, Dorchester.
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A. Breeden, Boston.
Caleb M. Long, Lynn.
Augustus B. Ingalls, "
Thomas B. Smith, Beverly.
David Lefavour, "
Nehemiah Roundy, "
William Larrabee, "
Sylvanus Jordan.
Charles Boardman, Boston.
John Albree, "
John Lovejoy, Lynn.
Joseph Southwick, Boston.
Amasa Walker, "
George W. Keene, Lynn.
Joseph Haynes, "
Edwin Attwell, "
James Babb, "
Benj. J. Phillips, "
B. Goodridge, Danvers.
Luther French, E. Randolph.
William Capen, Boston.
C. J. Whitcomb, E. Randolph.
A. T. Vail, Boston.
J. L. Boyd, "
W. Webster, jr., Lynn.
Lovitt Fisk, Holliston.
R. I. Attwell, Lynn.

George Johnson, Lynn.
Jackson Richardson, Boston.
Charles W. Perkins, "
Nathan Nichols, Lynn,
Thomas S. Webb, Boston.
J. W. Proctor, Danvers.
John Hunt, Roxbury.
Reuben Winslow, "
Laban S. Beecher, "
Charles Maxwell, "
William Colburn, "
Jonas Barnard, "
Chester Guild, "
Sylvanus Jordan, "
R. M. Stackpole, "
George W. Harrington, "
Calvin Young, "
William Seaver, "
George Southack, "
Samuel Jackson, "
Samuel Guild, jr., "
Isaac D. White, "
Joseph H. Billings, "
A. S. Meriam, "
Francis Dana, "
Stephen Williams 2d, "
George Packer, "
Guy Carleton, "
Elijah Wood, "
William Patten, "
E. Toleman ,jr., "
Samuel F. Train, "
James Guild, "
Dexter Walker, Milford.
William R. Bliss, "
Samuel Haynes, "
Darling Huntress, "
A. C. Mayhew, "
Jeremiah Kelley, "
Nuton Daniels, "
Otis T. Nelson, "
John Goldsmith, "
Edward Oliver, "
Washington Ellis, "

George W. Howe, Milford.
Emery Walker, "
Charles F. Chapin, "
George B. Pierce, "
William Legg, "
David Beal, "
Elijah Rockwood, "
H. G. O. Tilton, "
Samuel J. Howard, "
Ebenezer Chapin, "
Silenas Gilmore, "
Ralph Bowker, "
Jathrem Howard, "
Waldo C. Perrey, "
J. B. Winn, Woburn.
Samuel Shaw, "
Cyrus Cummings, "
John Cummings, "
Samuel More, "
Timothy Winn, "
Joseph Kelley, "
Henry Taylor, "
William F. Choate, "
Edmund Parker, "
J. H. Kimball, "
Levi Bacon, "
William Holden, "
Abijah Thompson, "
John Tidd, "
John Cumming, jr., "
Charles Choate, "
Thomas Richardson "
John Knight, "
Jacob Webster, "
Tracy Nichols, "
Horace Conn, "
Joseph Richardson, "
Marshall Frye, "
Moses T. Winn, "
Jonathan Tidd, "
Thomas Poole, "
Samuel Tidd, "
William Tidd, "
Samuel Caldwell, "

Seth Wyman, Woburn.
Henry H. Flanders, "
William Flanders, "
Bartholeme Richardson, "
Nathl. A. Richardson, "
Charles A. More, "
John Richardson, "
Jonathan Farnsworth, "
Charles Pierce, "
John Carroll, "
Albert Thompson, "
Luther Holden, "
Walter Wyman, "
James Taylor, "
Joseph Burdett, "
John Robinson, "
William P. Thompson, "
Ezra Ingalls, "
Abel Wyman, "
William Gage, "
Addison Parker, "
Charles Flagg, "
E. Wyman, "
A. R. Ellery, Hopkinton.
Cromwell Gibbs, "
Joseph Walker, jr., "
Lee Claflin, "
Lovet H. Bowker, "
William Seaver, "
Dexter Rice, "
George R. Richards "
—— Wiggins, "
Uriah Bowker, "
William H. Warren, "
P. R. H. Mathews, "
Eliab Morse, "
Moses L. Burk, "
Jonathan H. Tombs, "
Clarendon Loring, "
Austin Heyward, "
N. P. Coburn, "
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Silas Mirick, "
John Woodman, Haverhill.

D. P. Harmon, Haverhill.
Leonard Whittier, "
William Edwards 2d, "
Moses D. George, "
Samuel Chase, "
G. K. Montgomery, "
Samuel Johnson, "
B. P. Woodman, "
Edmund Kimball, "
Daniel Hobson, "
H. Hoyt, "
Charles Haseltine, "
Warren Ordaway, "
William Hall, "
Albert G. Whittier, "
John S. George, "
Thomas M. Hayes, "
Gilman Currier, "
Isaac H. Kelly, "
John P. Heath, "
Charles R. Merrill, "
Moses K. Tyler, "
George Carleton, "
Darius Johnson, "
E. G. Dresser, "
Isaac Sargent, "
James K. Lancaster, "
Moses E. Wood, "
Nathaniel Currier, "
E. R. Dike, "
Samuel H. Boardman, "
Harrison Tibbets, "
Lyman Worthen, "
Enoch Brown, "
S. N. Dresser, "
Anthony Chase, "
Luther Chase, "
R. H. Ayers, "
Albert Kimball, "
James Noyes, "
Jonathan Simonds, "
Nathaniel H. Johnson, "

George W. Lee, Haverhill.
John Davis 3d, "
Cyrus C. Farnum, "
Dudley Tibbets, "
John E. Goss, "
Daniel F. Fitts, "
David Evans, "
Richard West, "
George Sawins, "
Johnson Noyes, "
Abel Page, "
Moses How, "
Isaac Harding, "
Amos Chase, "
Daniel C. Goodrich, "
Samuel George, "
Thomas Savory, "
Joseph Bartlett, "
William Webb, "
Joseph Greely, "
John Davis 2d. "
John Gardner, "
Leonard M. Webster, "
Phineas Webster, "
S. H. Sargent, "
John Sargent, "
Jonathan Watson, "
Warner R. Whittier, "
William N. Kimball, "
O. G. Boynton, "
Benjamin Emerson, "
Daniel H. Brickett, "
Elbridge Souther, "
George Whittier, "
James D. York, "
E. D. Bailey, "
Charles Davis, "
Charles Bartlett, "
A. P. Nichols, "
Josiah Brown, "
Richard Kimball, "

ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :

THE undersigned, a Committee appointed by the Convention of Shoe and Leather Dealers and Operatives, held in Boston on the 2d of March, 1842, ask leave respectfully to address you in relation to those important changes which are about to take place in the Tariff of the United States ; and to present before you such considerations as they deem important to all classes of the community, especially to those who acquire a livelihood by their industry in any of the various manufactures of the country.

On the 8th of July next, the Compromise Act will be consummated, and all previous duties abolished, except an ad valorem duty of twenty per cent. on all articles thereafter imported ; certain specified articles being admitted free.

This will bring us to a new and interesting epoch in our national history, and create such a change in the circumstances of the people as we have never yet experienced. Our labor must then, for the first time since we have become a manufacturing people, be brought into direct competition with the labor of Europe, with a duty in its favor of only twenty per cent. ; a duty altogether inadequate to afford that protection which is essential to the existence of many branches of industry, that have been successfully established during the last twenty-five years ; a period within which, owing to a variety of causes, the condition of our country has greatly changed.

New England, which before the war of 1812 was principally engaged in agriculture and commerce, has now become essentially a manufacturing community. Her manufactures are her great interest. Destroy them, and her wealth, her prosperity, and her power are greatly crippled. This is especially true of Massachusetts, whose population engaged in this department of labor amounted in 1837 to 117,000 ; and if we should include those indirectly concerned in, and supported by, manufacturing labor, the number would probably be trebled.

The question, then, of the protection which is to be afforded to our manufacturing industry, is one of immense importance ; more so by far than is generally supposed even by ourselves.

A wrong impression has been made, and a consequent wrong opinion is prevalent in the public mind in relation to the true

question at issue. Owing to the greater activity and influence of those engaged in the manufacture of cotton and wool, and the exertions which they have always made when the Tariff has been a matter of discussion, their interests have been so much more prominently brought before Congress, that a common feeling has been created, that *they* only had any great stake in the matter, and were alone desirous of protection. But this is not true. They are not even the majority of interest. Far from it. In Massachusetts in 1837, the amount of cotton and woollen fabrics was but $27,000,000, being less than one third of the whole amount of the manufactures of the Commonwealth, and employing but about one fourth part of all the persons engaged in manufactures within the State.

This erroneous opinion has operated unfavorably in *Congress*, and induced among its members a belief that all the clamor for protection arose from the rich manufacturing corporations. It has operated unfavorably among the *people*, by leading them to suppose that they had no great interest in the question, except as indirectly connected with those engaged in the manufacture of cotton or wool. Hence, thousands have been indifferent on a question really of more vital importance to themselves than to those interested in the branches of industry before referred to.

The manufacturers of shoes and leather, whose products in this State in 1837 amounted to $18,000,000; also those employed in the manufacture of straw bonnets, a trade which amounted at the time mentioned to $2,000,000; are far more deeply interested than those whose products are aided by machinery and large fixed capitals. Those branches, and they are numerous in the Commonwealth, which are carried on almost exclusively by *manual* labor, will feel *most* severely the effects of foreign competition.

To such, and they are the majority of the whole within the State, an ad valorem duty of twenty per cent. will prove entirely insufficient; and many of them, under this duty only on foreign labor, must be nearly annihilated.

This is no fiction. The consequences, then, may be easily foreseen. A great part of our industry must be changed. Absolute starvation we need not fear. Our country is too extended, land too cheap and too productive, to permit us to anticipate any such alternative; but a change of employment, and a change of residence, must with a considerable part of our population take place, and thousands of our citizens must seek on the prairies of the West, that food and sustenance which

they could no longer find in the beautiful villages of New-England, by the firesides of home, by the graves of their fathers.

The result of this operation will be equally disastrous upon the West. The home market, the only one on which it can rely, will be then mainly destroyed; while the additional number of persons who will be compelled to engage in agriculture, will as a matter of course so increase the quantity of produce, as to greatly reduce its value; indeed, so much so as almost to make it worthless as an article of sale.

Fellow-citizens, we are all interested. No matter what our situation or our calling; the change will "come home to *our* business and bosoms." Never was there a greater identity of interests than in this matter. All alike will share in the common calamity. Our metropolis, now united by railroad to the great West, will feel it in the falling off of that mighty trade, which, in a successful condition of manufacturing industry, she would be destined to enjoy. Our farmers, deprived of their home market, and compelled to compete in the foreign markets, (if they could find such,) with the great staples of the fertile West, would find their property depreciated, their exertions paralyzed, their industry unrewarded.

There is one class, however, on which the weight of this calamity will fall with peculiar severity. That class is the WOMEN of our country who get their living, as many hundreds of thousands now do with great comfort and respectability, by the work of their own hands. This large and interesting class, heretofore not overpaid for their services, must not only experience a great falling off in price, but in many instances, an absolute annihilation of demand for their labor. They cannot subsist, if compelled to work in competition with the laboring females of Europe, who receive from four to six cents per day for their services.

Men, when driven from one employment, may seek it in another; and if work cannot be had at home, they may go abroad. If it cannot be obtained on the land, it may be found on the sea. But it is not so with women. They are far more dependent and helpless; and when thrown out of employ, are involved in inevitable distress and suffering. There are in this Commonwealth, as officially ascertained, about 40,000 women employed in different manufactures; 15,000 of whom are engaged in the manufacture of Shoes. How great then must be the whole number employed in the United States; and what an amount of privation and suffering must be involved in the turning out of

employ, or in employing at half price, this immense number of industrious women! Humanity recoils at the contemplation of such scenes; and yet come they must, and come they will, unless Congress, in the spirit of wisdom and justice, shall *discriminate* in favor of their industry in the duties laid for the support of Government. Were there no other motive than that arising from this view of the subject, it would alone be sufficient to justify the most vigorous exertions. We are aware, Fellow Citizens, that there are some amongst us who are incredulous as to the nature of foreign competition, and the kind of labor with which we shall be called to contend; we ask your indulgence, therefore, while we present a few facts and considerations in regard to that subject.

The condition of a great part of the laboring population of Europe, and particularly of England, is little better than that of serfs; for, although predial slavery has been long abolished in form, it still exists, so far as practical effects are concerned.

The system of British Slavery is, in fact, the most ingenious, and the most effective that the world has ever witnessed; inasmuch as it better calculated to *rob* the laborer of the fruits of his toil than that of any other nation on earth. It is a system that has all the advantages and few of the disadvantages of the chattel system. It gives a nominal freedom, it imposes on every individual the necessity of self-preservation; it holds out before him the hope (though a delusive one) of bettering his condition; it stimulates him to efforts which the slave, who is the property of his master, can never be made to put forth, while it robs him of every farthing of his hard earned pittance, and gives him only the bare means (and, oftentimes, not even that) of sustaining his animal existence!

We make this comparison between British and American slavery, only so far as relates to the success of the former in securing a greater amount of toil from the laborer, and at the same time depriving him of his just reward. In any other point of view we institute no comparison whatever, and we desire that we may not be understood to say that the former has all the *enormity* of the latter.

Another remarkable feature of British labor is, that to some extent it is literally PAUPER LABOR. The present pauper tax of England is twenty-five millions of dollars per annum. Much of this has been, and some of it now is paid to laborers who are engaged in various branches of industry, and do not receive enough of their employers to give them subsistence.

This immense sum operates as a fund for the reduction of

the price of labor, and of *that* labor too, be it recollected, with which the people of this country must now contend, hand to hand, unless protected by National Legislation.

As an illustration of this position we quote some facts from an English publication on the subject of Pauperism now before us.

"In Burwash, in East Sussex, on one occasion, the surplus laborers were put up at auction, and hired as low as 2d. to 3d. per day; the rest of their maintenance *being paid by the parish.*"

"At Dedington, during the severe winter months, about sixty men apply every morning to the overseer, [of the poor] for work or pay. He ranges them in a shed in a yard, and if a farmer or any one else wants a man he sends to the yard for one, and pays half the day's wages, and *the rest is paid by the parish.*"

A volume of facts like these might be adduced, but we trust these alone are sufficient to sustain the assertion we have made.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the labor with which we must compete; and such the position in which we are placed. We think we can appeal, therefore, to yourselves, whether the cause we advocate is not emphatically the cause of the WHOLE PEOPLE. It has, indeed, no party limits. Every man, Conservative or Radical, Whig or Democrat, is alike interested; and if he truly understands the subject, and possesses the least share of patriotism or philanthropy, must labor and strive, irrespective of all mere party considerations, for its advancement.

In behalf, then, of those whom we represent, we disclaim all sinister motives and party feelings, and call upon all our fellow-citizens to arise as one man, speak out in the language of independent freemen, and demand that just discrimination in the imposition of duties, which, while it will not increase the public burdens a *dollar*, shall protect those branches of industry which have grown up under past governmental legislation.

Let it be recollected, fellow-citizens, that we do not advocate taxation for the sake of protection. We do not ask that one portion of the country should be taxed for the benefit of another; but we do ask that those duties required to raise a revenue sufficient to support the National Government, *administered with the most scrupulous regard to economy*, shall be placed on those articles, which would come in competition with our own manufactures already established. Is there ought unreasonable in this?

Is any injustice done to the man, for instance, who in consequence of this discrimination pays ten cents per pair more for his shoes, and ten cents less per pound for his tea, than he would under a horizontal Tariff? We repeat the inquiry,

where is the injustice or wrong? And if it be not wrong, why should Congress refuse to make this discrimination? Why should the South, or the West, or any other section of the Union, object to such a measure?

We have never seen any reason given why this discrimination should not be made, and we do not believe

> "That any reason can be shown
> Which Reason would not blush to own."

The great necessity of the protection we ask is, we think, not only obvious, from what we have shown in regard to the nature of the foreign labor with which we must compete, but from a great variety of other facts which present themselves before us in regard to that interest represented by the undersigned.

That without such legislation as we ask, all the finer description of shoes and boots will be imported from France, is evident from the fact that already, since the progressive reduction of duties under the Compromise Act, the importation of boots and shoes has increased with surprising rapidity.

As an instance, we would state that an individual in Boston who in 1835 sold but three hundred dollars worth of French boots, during the last year imported and sold more than ten thousand dollars worth of that article alone.

The last vessel that arrived in the port of Boston from France, contained about five thousand pairs of Paris Boots and Shoes!

Our heavy work, our thick Shoes, Brogans and Boots, will be superseded by foreign importations. Already have orders been sent out to Germany for such goods for the fall trade as have heretofore been manufactured in Danvers and Grafton, Holliston, Brookfield, and other towns in this Commonwealth.

As an evidence of the low price of labor in Germany, we would here state, that two workmen from that country are now employed in Boston at ten dollars per week, who when at home could obtain but a dollar and a half per week, and board themselves.

But what is true of our department of labor is equally true of nearly all other branches of manufacturing industry which are carried on mostly by hand.

Carriages, Harnesses, Hats, Straw Bonnets, Jewelry, Glass, Paper, Cabinet Ware, Cutlery, and a variety of smaller articles now advantageously manufactured within our state, are equally at the mercy of the foreign laborer; and we therefore earnestly call on all those engaged in these trades to bestir themselves at once, and forward their petitions and memo-

rials to Congress, and so far as they are able, to send on to Washington some practical men to represent their interests. Such information as would be thus afforded is greatly needed in Congress, and is most earnestly desired by those in that body who are friendly to the preservation of American Industry.

Fellow Citizens: having made known to Congress our situation, let us declare distinctly and unanimously that we wish for *specific duties* upon the articles which we manufacture. Let us not for a moment listen to any proposal for an ad valorum duty, either on home or foreign valuation. All experience shows that such a duty is never a protection. So great facilities always have existed, and always will exist, for evading the duties by fraudulent invoices, and false estimates, that there never can be any fair protection afforded, either to the honest importer, or to the domestic manufacturer, but by a regular specific duty. In this let us all agree; for this let us all strive; and with united action, and simultaneous effort, we may assuredly hope for that justice which we ask and deserve.

Our cause is one. It is the cause of *American Labor*. Let this be our motto, this our leading idea,— the polar star of our enterprise. It is not for Capitalists or Corporations—for of the latter in that branch of business represented by the undersigned, we have none—that we ask favor or protection. It is for the *operatives* of our land; for the *hard-working men* and *hard-working women*, who get their bread by the sweat of their brows, that we demand such legislation as is dictated alike by justice, humanity and patriotism.

By order, and in behalf of the Convention.

COMMITTEE.

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SAMUEL WOOD, *Grafton*,
TYLER BACHELLER, *N. Brookfield*,
H. B. ALDEN, *Randolph*,
JOSIAH BREED, *Lynn*,
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STEPHEN DRIVER, *Salem*,
THOMAS PUTTILLOW, *Braintree*,
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GEORGE HOOD, *Lynn*,
LEONARD WHITTIER, *Haverhill*,
WM. B. SPOONER, *Boston*,
ABIJAH THOMPSON, *Woburn*.

It is proper to state that it has been found impracticable to consult all the Committee in reference to the Address, and therefore all of them are not responsible for its sentiments.

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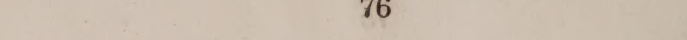
Ebenezer Morrill, Andover.
R. C. Clapp, Dorchester.
John Mann, Manchester.
Freeman Plimpton, Wales.

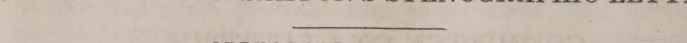
SPECIMEN OF C. SAXTON'S STENOGRAPHIC LETTER.

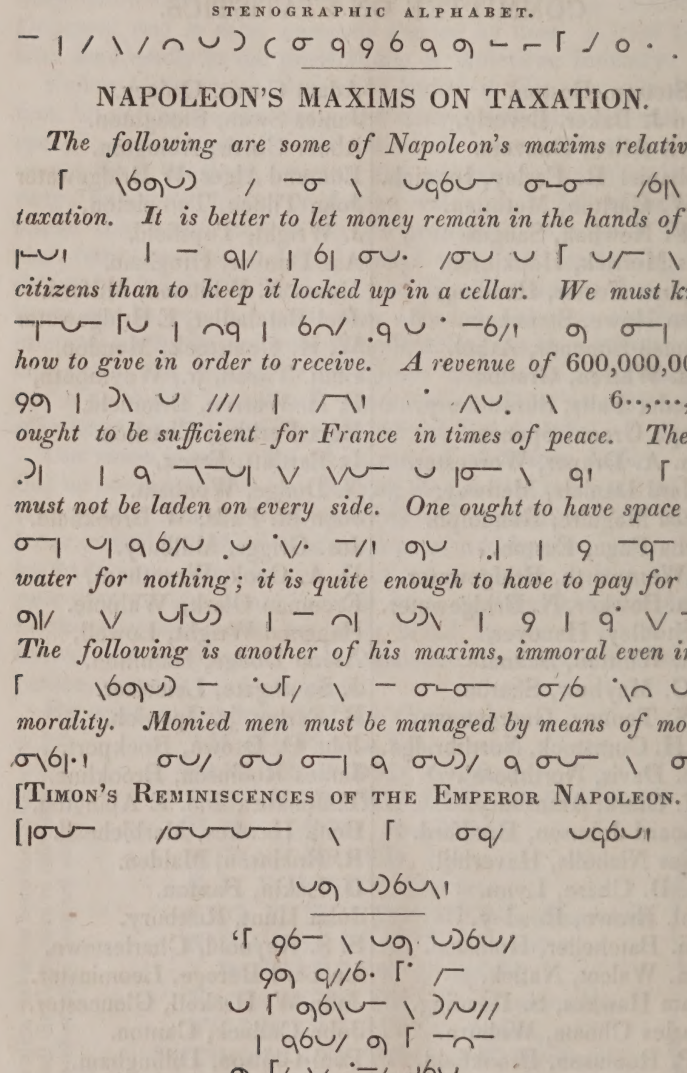
STENOGRAPHIC ALPHABET.



NAPOLEON'S MAXIMS ON TAXATION.

The following are some of Napoleon's maxims relative to
taxation. It is better to let money remain in the hands of the
citizens than to keep it locked up in a cellar. We must know
how to give in order to receive. A revenue of 600,000,000*f.*
ought to be sufficient for France in times of peace. The ass
must not be laden on every side. One ought to have space and
water for nothing; it is quite enough to have to pay for salt.
The following is another of his maxims, immoral even in its
morality. Monied men must be managed by means of money.
[Timon's Reminiscences of the Emperor Napoleon.





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*TRANSLATION.

NEW ENGLAND.

"The hills of New England!
How proudly they rise,
In the wildness of grandeur
To blend with the skies!
With their far azure outline,
And tall ancient trees:
New England, my country!
I love thee for these!

"The vales of New England,
That cradle her streams;
That smile in their greenness
Like land in our dreams;
All sunny with pleasure
Embosomed with ease:
New England, my country!
I love thee for these!

"The woods of New England,
Still verdant and high,
Though rocked by the tempests
Of ages gone by:
Romance dims their arches
And speaks in the breeze:
New England, my country!
I love thee for these!

"The streams of New England,
That roar as they go;
Or seem in their stillness
But dreaming to flow;
O bright gilds the sunbeam
Their march to the seas:
New England, my country!
I love thee for these!

"The homes of New England,
Free, fortuned and fair;
O many a heart treasures
Its teraphim there!
E'en more than thy mountains
Or streamlets they please:
New England, my country!
I love thee for these!

"God shield thee, New England!
Dear land of my birth!
And thy children that wander
Afar o'er the earth;
Thou 'rt my country, wherever
My lot shall be cast:
Take thou to thy bosom
My ashes at last!"

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